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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA



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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

FROM 1873 TO 1884

TWELVE EVENTFUL YEARS

WITH CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF GALEKALAND,
TEMBULAND, PONDOLAND, AND BETSHUANALAND UNTIL
THE ANNEXATION OF THOSE TERRITORIES TO THE
CAPE COLONY, AND OF ZULULAND UNTIL ITS
ANNEXATION TO NATAL

BY

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GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, LISBON, ETC., ETC., ETC.

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PREFACE.

THESE are the first volumes prepared by me that overlap the work of another author. Count Wilmot's *History of Our Own Times in South Africa, 1872-1898*, in three volumes, was published in 1897-1899, and I certainly would not have trespassed upon that period if it had not been that the work alluded to has for some years been out of print, with very little or no prospect of its being reissued. I communicated with the honourable gentleman, its author, who in the kindest possible manner replied that he had no objection whatever to my continuing my work, and therefore I took in hand the volumes now before the reader. As he was in this field before me, my warmest thanks are due to him for his courtesy in this matter.

G. M. THEAL.

WYNBERG, CAPE PROVINCE.

January 1919.



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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

EVENTS IN THE CAPE COLONY FROM 1873 TO 1876.

	PAGE
Condition of South Africa in 1873—European inhabitants of the different colonies and states—Bantu military tribes at that time—Transactions of the Cape parliament in 1873—Creation of the university of the Cape of Good Hope—State-aided immigration from Europe—Purchase of the existing lines of railway and telegraph by the government—Particulars of the steamship mail service between England and South Africa—Particulars concerning inland mails—Opening of Southey's pass to traffic—Changes in the ministry—Efforts to introduce silk culture—Dissolution of both houses of parliament—Meeting of the new parliament—Passing of the seven circles act—Formation of new magisterial districts—Transactions of the Cape parliament in 1874—Great advance in the construction of railroads—Opening of the Huguenot seminary at Wellington—Extension of ostrich farming—Ravages of the dorthesia and of the phylloxera—Account of great floods in December 1874—Damage caused in December 1875 to the village of Heidelberg by the rising of the Doorn river—Decline of cotton growing in the eastern districts—Population according to the census of March 1875—Efforts of Lord Carnarvon to promote confederation—Tours of Mr. James Anthony Froude through South Africa—Transactions during a special session of the Cape parliament— <u>Settlement of the dispute between the British government and the Orange Free State concerning the ownership of the diamond fields</u> —Particulars of some disastrous fires	1

CHAPTER II.

EVENTS IN THE CAPE COLONY IN 1876 AND 1877.

Immigration of agriculturists from Northern Germany and their settlement on the Cape flats—Construction of harbour works

—Cause of unrest on the eastern frontier—Expansion of the Bantu—Condition of the Xosas—Manner of death of Makoma—Report of the frontier defence commission—Rejection by the parliament of its recommendations—Condition in 1873 of the territory between the river Kei and Natal—War between the Galekas and the Tembus—Commencement of the exercise of authority in the territory beyond the Kei by the Cape government—Reception of the Pondosi clans under Umhlonhlo and Umditshwa as British subjects—Action of Mr. Orpen in regard to the rebellion of Langalibalele—His dealings with Umhlonhlo and Umditshwa—Assumption of authority over the Griquas under Adam Kok—Particulars regarding the Griqua territory—Trouble caused by Nehemiah Moshesh—Annexation of the district of Mount Frere to the British dominions—Rebellion of some of the Griquas—Conduct of the Pondos—Suppression of the Griqua rebellion—Formation of the chief magistracy of Griqualand East—Annexation of Griqualand East to the Cape Colony—Also of part of the chief magistracy of Transkei—Conduct of the Tembu chief Gangelizwe—Cession of Tembuland Proper to the Cape government—Retirement of Sir Henry Barkly and assumption of duty as governor of the Cape Colony and high commissioner by Sir Bartle Frere—Opening of an international exhibition in Capetown—Progress in the construction of railroads and telegraphs—Cessation of state-aided immigration	25
---	----

CHAPTER III.

THE NINTH KAFFIR WAR.

Condition of the Xosa tribe in 1877—Event at a Fingo wedding feast that brings on war with the Galekas—Fruitless efforts to restore peace—Arrivals and departures of British troops—Visit of Sir Bartle Frere to Butterworth—Fruitless efforts of the governor to obtain an interview with Kreli—Departure of the missionaries and traders from Galeka-land—Defection of Mapasa from the Galeka cause and his retirement with a portion of his clan to the Cape Colony—Defeat of the police and the Fingos at Gwadana—Defeat of the Galekas with heavy loss at Ibeka—Arrival of strong reinforcements of police and volunteers at Ibeka—Prudent conduct of Gangelizwe—Proclamation of Sir Bartle Frere deposing Kreli from being a chief—Arrangements for carry-

ing on the war—Destruction of the kraals of Kreli, Sigcawu, and others—Overtures for peace made by Kreli—Scouring of the Galeka country—Defeat of the enemy at Lusizi—Retirement of the whole Galeka people under Kreli over the Bashee—Their pursuit to Western Pondoland by Colonel Griffith—Return of the colonial forces to Ibeka and their disbandment—Proposed arrangements for the settlement of the territory recently occupied by the Galekas . 52

CHAPTER IV.

THE NINTH KAFFIR WAR (*continued*).

General fear of a rebellion of the Rarabe clans—Flight of the Ndlambe chief Mackinnon into the Gaika location—Successful mission of Mr. W. B. Chalmers—Return of the Galeka warriors after their families have been placed in safety—Successful encounters with the enemy at Umzintsani—Measures adopted to obtain a field force—Removal of all the troops in Capetown to the eastern frontier—Employment of a naval brigade—Supersession of Colonel Griffith by Colonel Glynn as commander of the forces east of the Kei—Fruitless negotiations for peace—Appeal by Kiva to the Rarabe clans to aid the Galekas—Attitude of the old counsellor Tyala—Rebellion of the great majority of the Rarabes—Enrolment of Pulleine's rangers and Carrington's horse—Murder of Messrs. Tainton and Brown—Raids into Fingoland—Engagement near Kentani Hill—Enlargement of the area of disturbances—Defection of Dukwana—Murder of old Jacobus Vanderkemp—Participation of some Tembu clans in the strife—Arrival of volunteers and burghers on the frontier—Sweeping of the Gaika location by Commandant Frost—And of the Tshetshaba valley by Colonel Lambert—Expedition against Gongubela—Second and successful expedition against that chief—Decisive victory at Kentani on the 7th of February 1878—Abandonment of the contest by Kreli and end of the war with the death of Kiva . 74

CHAPTER V.

COMPULSORY RETIREMENT OF THE MOLTENO MINISTRY.

Change of ministry in the Cape Colony—Altered condition of things caused by the rebellion of the Rarabe clans—Wide-

spread disaffection of the Bantu in South Africa—Arrival of two more battalions of British troops—Differences between the views of the governor and the prime minister as to military operations—Opinion of Attorney-General Stockenstrom—Abrupt dismissal of the ministry by the governor—Acceptance of office as prime minister by Mr. John Gordon Sprigg—Names of the members of the new ministry—Opinion of the secretary of state for the colonies as to the matter in dispute—Return of the governor to Capetown—Opening of parliament on the 10th of May—Important measures introduced—Particulars of the debate upon the dismissal of the late ministry—Approval by parliament of the action of the governor—Adoption of a series of acts for establishing a strong defensive force on the eastern frontier—Imposition of an excise duty on spirits distilled in the Cape Colony—Particulars of the house duty act—Particulars concerning the peace preservation or disarmament act of 1878

CHAPTER VI.

SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION OF THE RARABE CLANS.

Occupation of the Thomas river valley by Sandile's Gaikas—Defeat of a Gaika army under Matanzima—Attitude of Tini, son of Makoma, in the Waterkloof—Occupation of the Waterkloof by the ninetieth regiment and some volunteers—Flight of Tini and his people to the Amatola forests—Retirement of General Cunynghame and succession of General Thesiger to the command of the troops in South Africa—Operations against Sandile in the Thomas river valley and afterwards in the Amatola forests—Treatment of the Kaffir women and children made prisoners during the rebellion—Crushing defeat of Stokwe, son of Tshali—Accession to the rebel forces of Delima, son of Pato, Jali, son of Umkayi, and Siyolo, son of Dushane—Defeat of Siyolo with heavy loss—Continued operations in the Amatola forest—Death of Jali in battle—Capture of the Tembu chiefs Gongubela, Stokwe, and Umfanta—New plan of operations against the rebels—Capture of Tini—Death of Sandile from a bullet wound—Death of Siyolo—Surrender of Delima and Ndimba—Capture of Matanzima and Gonya—Thorough suppression of the rebellion—Cost of the war and rebellion—Conduct of the Christian Bantu—Settlement of

the conquered Bantu—Formation of the chief magistracy of Transkei—Annexation of the districts of Kentani and Willowvale to the Cape Colony—Population, revenue, and expenditure of the chief magistracy of Transkei in 1885	118
---	-----

CHAPTER VII.

FURTHER ANNEXATION OF TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY BANTU.

proceedings with regard to Emigrant Tembuland—Formation of the chief magistracy of Tembuland—Account of the Bomvanas—Offer of the chief Moni to become a British subject—Incorporation of Bomvanaland in the British dominions—Its inclusion in the chief magistracy of Tembuland—Account of the rebellion in 1880 in Tembuland—Complete subjugation of the clans under Dalasile, Gecelo, and Stokwe, son of Ndlela—Settlement of the territory recently occupied by these chiefs—Growing importance of the town of Umtata—Annexation of the chief magistracy of Tembuland to the Cape Colony—Population of Tembuland in 1885—Death of Gangelizwe—Good conduct of the Fingos—Regulations in force beyond the Kei—Account of the local Fingo council—Establishment of a hospital at Butterworth—Indications of trouble in Griqualand East in 1880—Rebellion of many clans—Treacherous murder of three officials by the Pondonsi clan under Umhlonhlo—Refuge afforded by the prison at Tsolo—Enumeration of the various contingents engaged on the colonial side—Retreat of the Basuto across the Drakensberg—Stamping out of the rebellion—Subsequent career of Umhlonhlo—Imprisonment of Umditshwa—Settlement of the four rebel districts of Maclear, Matatiele, Qumbu, and Tsolo—Addition of the district of Mount Ayliff to the chief magistracy of Griqualand East—Account of the quarrel between the Pondos and the Xesibes—Description of Kokstad—Population of Griqualand East in 1885	143
--	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

FURTHER ANNEXATION OF BANTU TERRITORY (*continued*).

Comparative unprogressiveness of the Pondo tribe—Unreliability of Bantu traditions—Origin of the Pondo, Tembu, and Xosa tribes—Condition of the Pondo tribe—Importance of the

mouth of the Umzimvubu river, called Port Saint John's,	
to the Cape Colony—Position of Ndamasi with regard to	
his half-brother Umqikela—Death of Ndamasi and succession	
of his son Nquiliso—Sale by Nquiliso to the Cape govern-	
ment of a slip of land at the mouth of the Umzimvubu—	
Occupation of Port Saint John's by a company of soldiers	
—Proclamation of Sir Bartle Frere regarding Umqikela—	
Annexation of Port Saint John's to the Cape Colony—	
Population of Port Saint John's in 1884—Action of Umqikela	
with regard to the main road through the Rode—Extensive	
cattle-lifting by the eastern Pondos from the Bacas and	
the Xesibes—Internal strife in Eastern Pondoland—Procla-	
mation of a protectorate of the coast of Pondoland by Great	
Britain—Ludicrous attempt by the eastern Pondos to open	
a port for trade—Continuation of strife between the eastern	
Pondos and the clans received as British subjects—Friendly	
dealings with Nquiliso—Position of the Amatshezi chief	
Pali—Dealings with Pali—Treatment of the Hlubi headman	
William Nota by the eastern Pondos—Disorder on the	
eastern Pondo frontier—Statistics of schools in the country	
between the river Kei and Natal	173

CHAPTER IX.

FURTHER ANNEXATION OF BANTU TERRITORY (*continued*).

Continuation of raids and skirmishes along the eastern Pondo border—Battle between the Amanci and the Xesibes in which over a hundred men are killed—Action of the Kokstad Political Association—Resolution of the legislative council of Natal favouring the annexation of Pondoland to that colony—View of the secretary of state for the colonies—Return of cattle thefts during two years—Invasion of the Xesibe country by a large Pondo army—Collection of a strong force to protect the Xesibes—Demand upon Umqikela for explanation of his conduct and reparation—Offers of assistance against the Pondos from Dalindyebo, Kreli, and others—Denial of personal responsibility by Umqikela for what had occurred—Arrangement for a conference—Satisfactory results of the conference on the 7th and 8th of December 1886—Death of Umqikela—Election of his son Sigcawu as his successor—Condition of anarchy in Eastern Pondoland—State of affairs in Western Pondoland—Intrigues of Umhlangaso with some German adventurers—Rebellion of

Umhlangaso against Sigcawu—Cession of both Western and Eastern Pondoland to the Cape government—Division of Western Pondoland into two districts named Libode and Ngcaleni—Population of Western Pondoland in 1894—Submission of Umhlangaso—Division of Eastern Pondoland into three districts named Umsikaba, Tabankulu, and Bizana—Population of Eastern Pondoland in 1894—Population of the whole territory between the Kei and Natal in 1904 . . .	199
--	-----

CHAPTER X.

THE COLONY OF NATAL. 1873 TO 1878.

Lists of heads of the government—Want of European immigrants—Enlargement of the legislative council—Extension of the line of telegraph—Condition of the Bantu in Natal—Difference between the policy pursued towards these people in Natal and in the Cape Colony—Imprudent marriage law of Natal—Account of the Hlubi chief Langalibalele—Events that led to his flight from Natal—Shooting of volunteers at the top of the Drakensberg—Pursuit of Langalibalele by forces from different directions—Dispersion of the Amangwe clan and seizure of its cattle—Capture of Langalibalele in Basutoland—His trial before a special court and sentence to confinement and banishment for life—His imprisonment on Robben Island—Action of the secretary of state for the colonies—Removal of Langalibalele to a small farm in the Cape peninsula—Arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley as administrator—Resolution of the legislative council in 1874 in favour of responsible government—Great change in 1875 in the opposite direction—Improvements in the method of dealing with the Bantu—Particulars of Mr. Welborne's railway scheme—Public debt of Natal—Population of Natal in 1878—Construction of railroads by the government—Construction of harbour works at Port Natal—State-aided system of obtaining settlers from Great Britain . . .	224
---	-----

CHAPTER XI.

EVENTS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC FROM 1873 TO ITS OVERTHROW IN 1877.

Redemption of the paper currency by means of a loan in gold from the Cape Commercial bank—Opening of the Lydenburg
--

alluvial goldfields—Arrangements for maintaining order there—Naming of Macmac and Pilgrim's Rest—Coinage of gold money by President Burgers—Alteration in the executive council—Effect of the Keate award upon the Betschuana and Korana clans cut off from the South African Republic by it—Account of the case of Matthew Smith—Particulars concerning President Burgers' scheme of a railway from the republic to Delagoa Bay—Visit of the president to Europe to borrow money for the purpose—His failure to obtain the full amount needed—Account of the Bapedi tribe—Rebellion of the Bapedi tribe under the chief Sekukuni against the South African Republic—Factions in the republic—Attack by the rebels upon a lager at Kruger's Post—Emigration of farmers from the South African Republic to Mossamedes—March of a strong commando against Sekukuni—Occupation of Mathebi's Kop—Storming of the stronghold of Johannesburg—Failure of the attempt to take Sekukuni's mountain, and retreat of the commando—Account of the volunteers under Conrad von Schlickmann and Alfred Aylward—Submission of Sekukuni—Action of Lord Carnarvon and Sir Henry Barkly—Mission of Sir Theophilus Shepstone—Account of the Swazi marauder Umbelini—Proceedings of the special commissioner—Issue of a proclamation by him annexing the Transvaal territory to the British dominions . . . 248

CHAPTER XII.

THE TRANSVAAL IN 1877 AND 1878 UNDER BRITISH RULE.

General feeling in South Africa regarding the annexation of the Transvaal to the British dominions—Resolution of the volksraad of the Orange Free State concerning it—Mission of Messrs. Kruger and Jorissen to England—Refusal of Lord Carnarvon to restore the independence of the Transvaal—Further dealings of Lord Carnarvon with the delegates—Financial condition of the Transvaal—Arrangement of the public accounts by Mr. W. C. Sergeant—Appointment of new heads of departments—Dealings with Sekukuni—Renewal of hostilities by that chief—Progress of the operations against him—Assumption of the chief military command in the Transvaal by Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Rowlands—Unsuccessful attempt to take Sekukuni's stronghold—Disappointment of the burghers with Lord Carnarvon's refusal to restore their independence—Preparation of a memorial against

British rule—Despatch of Messrs. Kruger and Joubert to England—with the memorial—Proceedings of these gentlemen in London—Refusal of Sir Michael Hicks Beach to withdraw the annexation proclamation—Return of Messrs. Kruger and Joubert to Pretoria—Hostile attitude of Ketshwayo—Fruitless negotiations with that chief—Appointment of a commission to take evidence and report upon the disputed boundary—Account of the Hanoverian and Norwegian missions—Outrage perpetrated by Zulus on Natal territory—Other acts of offence of Ketshwayo—Arrival of reinforcements of soldiers—Gloomy condition of the Transvaal	275
---	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE ZULU POWER.

Different opinions regarding the justice of the war with the Zulus—References to various books on the subject—Particulars concerning Ketshwayo—Particulars concerning the disputed boundary commission's report—Arrival of Sir Bartle Frere in Natal—Military measures for the defence of the colony—Delivery to Zulu delegates of an award regarding the boundary and of an ultimatum concerning other matters—Underestimate of the Zulu military power—Abandonment of the Zulu cause by John Dunn—Plan of operations adopted by Lord Chelmsford—Advance into Zululand of the column under Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson—Notification to the Zulu people—Burning of the military kraal Ginginhlovu—Defeat of the Zulus at Inyezane—Occupation of the Norwegian mission station Etshowe—Entry into Zululand of a column under Lieutenant-Colonel Glynn, and accompanied by Lord Chelmsford and his staff—Destruction of Sirayo's kraal and capture of his cattle—Halt of the column at Isandhlwana hill—Despatch from Ulundi of a strong Zulu army to oppose it—Division of the British force, by detachments going on ahead—Destruction of almost the entire force left in the camp at Isandhlwana—Retreat of Lord Chelmsford with the advance parties—Bivouac that night among the dead at Isandhlwana—Arrival of the retreating party in Natal—Description of the post at Rorke's drift—Gallant defence of the post against a large Zulu army—Defection of many of the Bantu auxiliaries—Measures of defence of Natal—Interment of the dead at Isandhlwana	298
--	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ZULU WAR (*continued*).

	PAGE
Cessation for a time of operations from Natal—Composition of the column under Lieutenant-Colonel Evelyn Wood—Advance of this column from Utrecht to Bemba's Kop in the lately disputed territory—Repulse of a Zulu attacking force—Occupation by this column of Kambula hill on the old hunting road—Destruction of the Qulusi military kraal—Raising of volunteer corps by Commandant Schermbrucker and Colonel Weatherley—Defection of Ketshwayo's brother Hamu from the Zulu cause—Atrocious conduct of Umbelini—Disaster at the Intombi river, in which sixty-three Europeans lose their lives—Still greater disaster at Ndhlobane mountain, when ninety-five Europeans are killed—Repulse with heavy loss of a great Zulu army that attacks the camp at Kambula—Death of the marauder Umbelini—Arrival in Natal of troops from the Cape Colony, Saint Helena, and Mauritius, and landing of a naval brigade from her Majesty's ship <i>Shah</i> —Arrival of very large reinforcements from England—Relief of Etshowe—Construction of Fort Chelmsford—Arrangements for resuming the offensive—Death of Louis Napoleon, once prince imperial of France—Advance towards Ulundi of the divisions under Major-General Newdigate and Brigadier-General Wood, and their junction near their destination—Number of British troops in South Africa—Appointment of Sir Garnet Wolseley to the supreme command—His movements after arrival—Defeat of the Zulus at Ulundi by the army under Lord Chelmsford, and end of the war—Capture of Ketshwayo and his imprisonment in Capetown—Great reduction of the forces in the field—Division of Zululand into thirteen independent districts—Selection of chiefs over these districts	324

MAP.

CHART OF THE TERRITORY BETWEEN THE KEI RIVER
AND NATAL *Facing p. 222*

HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

FROM 1873 TO 1884.

CHAPTER I.

EVENTS IN THE CAPE COLONY FROM 1873 TO 1876.

THE modern history of South Africa may with good reason be regarded as commencing with the year 1873. The Cape Colony, the most important section of the country, then entered upon a career of progress undreamt of before the era of self-rule. Previous to 1873 the industries of the entire land were almost entirely agricultural and pastoral, for gold mining was carried on only in a very small way at the Tati and Eersteling, copper mining was confined to the secluded district of Namaqualand, and diamond digging consisted of nothing more than excavating holes from the surface of the ground. There were poor people, it is true, but the European inhabitants were very much nearer on an equality than in any state of Western Europe, and there were no white mendicants on one side and enormously wealthy capitalists on the other. The richest man in the country did not possess a quarter of a million pounds sterling. The general aspect was thus altogether different from what it is to-day, for the old dull, easy-going, happy condition of life has given place to the struggling anxious existence that is everywhere in evidence now. In short, we have been brought under the law that impels Europeans to struggle for knowledge and power, and have fallen into line with the most energetic communities of our race,

There have been many wars and droughts and disasters of various kinds in South Africa since 1873, yet the country has advanced with rapid strides in population, in commerce, and in many other respects. The Europeans were then only about 325,000 in number, namely in the Cape Colony 235,000, in the South African Republic 35,000, in the Orange Free State 27,000, in Natal 18,000, in Griqualand West 9,000, and scattered over territory occupied by independent Bantu tribes 1,000. The only railways, exclusive of the one in Namaqualand belonging to the Cape Copper Mining Company which was constructed and used solely for the purpose of transporting ore through the desert to Port Nolloth, were a line from Capetown through Stellenbosch and the Paarl to Wellington with a branch from Salt River to Wynberg in the Cape Colony, and one from the Point to Durban and on to the Umgeni in Natal, only about eleven kilometres or seven English miles in length. On the other hand the whole public debt of the colonies and republics combined did not exceed £1,750,000.

Of the great Bantu military tribes that sprang into existence during the wars of Tshaka, only the Makololo had disappeared. The Zulus under Ketshwayo, the Matshangana under Umzila, and the Matabele under Lobengula were still threatening the peace of wide sections of the country and keeping their neighbours in a constant state of unrest. The various tribes between the rivers Kei and Umzimkulu, living under independent chiefs, were almost perpetually quarrelling with each other, and were far less subject to missionary and civilising influence than they have since become.

To those living uninterruptedly in the country the rapid change in its condition has not been so apparent as to those who have gone abroad for a few years and then returned; such persons often found themselves in a new and strange environment.

On the 24th of April 1873 the parliament of the Cape Colony met in Capetown, and as the ministry had taken care to have all the important bills to be introduced published in ample time to be studied carefully, there was no delay in proceeding to business. Provision was made for the preliminary work of construction of several lines of railroad and telegraphs, particularly for the survey of routes, that everything might be in readiness for final decision in the following year. Harbour improvements were also resolved upon, and a subsidy of £10,000 a year for ten years was promised to a company that undertook to lay down and keep in working order a submarine cable from the colony to Aden *via* Natal, Mauritius, and Zanzibar. This came to nothing, however, as the company failed to carry out its agreement. A bill for the amendment of the constitution by dividing the colony into seven circles instead of two provinces for the purpose of electing members of the legislative council was carried by a large majority in the house of assembly, but was thrown out by the casting vote of the president in the council. A voluntary bill, or bill to cease paying the salaries of clergymen by the government, was also passed by the assembly, but thrown out by the council. On the 26th of June parliament was prorogued, after the shortest session on record, but one in which much useful work was done.

One act of this session must be more particularly referred to. This was the creation of the university of the Cape of Good Hope, to supersede the old board of examiners. It was based upon the model of the London university, and was purely an examining body, with power to confer degrees. The first council consisted of Sir Sydney Smith Bell, chief justice of the Cape Colony, the reverend John Brebner, M.A., professor of classics, Gill college, the reverend James Cameron, B.A., LL.D., professor of classics, South African college, Langham Dale, B.A., LL.D., superintendent-general of education,

the honourable John Henry de Villiers, attorney-general, Henry Anderson Ebdon, M.D., president of the colonial medical committee, Charles Bletterman Elliott, holder of a first-class certificate in literature and science, the reverend Philip Eduard Faure, D.D., moderator of the synod of the Dutch reformed church, the venerable Peter Parry Fogg, M.A., archdeacon of George, Francis Guthrie, B.A., LL.B., professor of mathematics, Graaff-Reinet college, Johannes Zacharias Herman, M.D., the reverend William Impey, general superintendent of Wesleyan missions, the reverend Edward Judge, M.A., colonial chaplain, the reverend John Murray, professor of the theological seminary, Stellenbosch, the reverend George Ogilvie, M.A., principal of the diocesan college, William Porter, M.L.A., late attorney-general, the honourable Charles Abercrombie Smith, M.A., commissioner of crown lands and public works, the reverend David Smith, M.A., Peter Gordon Stewart, M.D., and Edward James Stone, M.A., astronomer royal.

The first meeting of the council took place on the 1st of September 1873, when Dr. Dale was elected vice chancellor and Mr. Cameron registrar. It was provided that as soon as the members of convocation should reach one hundred a chancellor should be elected. This condition was fulfilled in February 1876, when Mr. William Porter, the former attorney-general of the Cape Colony, whose name was one of the most respected in South Africa, was unanimously chosen to fill the position of honour. Mr. Porter was then residing in Ireland.

On the 8th of August 1877 her Majesty Queen Victoria was pleased, at the instance of Lord Carnarvon, who was then secretary of state for the colonies, to confer a royal charter on the university, thereby giving its degrees a status equal to those of any other in the empire.

To obtain the mechanics and labourers needed for constructing the railways and other public works in contem-

plation, the reverend Thomas E. Fuller (later Sir Thomas) was sent as emigration agent to England. It was intended to employ Bantu to do the roughest of the work with the pick and wheelbarrow, but even for this European navvies were largely needed. It was also intended to assist private individuals who would guarantee fixed employment at stated wages, by engaging and sending out the men applied for, upon their depositing with the commissioner for crown lands and public works £7 towards the cost of passage of each statute adult. On the 3rd of November 1873 the first party of mechanics engaged by Mr. Fuller in England arrived. It consisted of thirty-seven men and twenty-eight women and children. This disproportion of the sexes was even more marked in parties that arrived at a later date, and it cannot be said that these immigrants added materially to the permanent European population of South Africa.

Within two years, or before the close of 1875, Mr. Fuller sent out 2,629 men, 230 women, and 260 children. A sufficient number of navvies could not be obtained in Great Britain, so several hundreds were engaged in Belgium and Germany. The proceeds of land sales in the colony were set apart to cover the cost of sending these people out. Most of them gave satisfaction by working well and behaving in an orderly manner, but a few caused much trouble by riotous conduct and going on strike. They had been accustomed to work in countries where house accommodation could always be had and where beer was obtainable without difficulty, and they objected to living in tents far away from the nearest habitations and having only coffee or tea to drink. These men managed to obtain Cape brandy, which they used to excess, so that it was often a relief when they absconded. But one of the grievances they put forward would certainly be regarded as well founded to-day: it was that they were required to work longer than fifty-

two hours and a half a week. In course of time the Bantu labourers became so expert that they only needed supervision, and then fewer white men were required except for mechanical purposes.

On the 1st of January of this year the existing line of railway from Capetown to Wellington was transferred to the government by the Company that owned it. The branch from Salt River to Wynberg, however, remained in private hands until July 1876, when it too became the property of the government. On the 1st of July 1873 the telegraphs were purchased also, and since that date have been exclusively owned by the state.

It was resolved that the gauge of the lines of railway about to be constructed should be 106·5 centimetres or 42 English inches. They were to run inland from Capetown, Port Elizabeth, and East London, so that none of these ports should be favoured more than either of the others. At the last named of these places Mr. J. C. Molteno, the prime minister of the colony, who was then making a tour through the eastern districts, on the 19th of August 1873 turned the first sod of the line to Queenstown, and also tilted the first load of stones for the breakwater.

In February 1873 a monthly mail service was commenced by the Union Company between Capetown and Aden, the steamships calling each way at Natal, Delagoa Bay, Mozambique, and Zanzibar.

At this time the mails between the Cape and England were conveyed twice monthly by the Union Company, under a contract which allowed thirty-seven days for the passage each way. As this contract would shortly expire, the imperial authorities entered provisionally into a new one with the same company to convey the mails to the 1st of January 1881 three times monthly each way, the passages not to exceed thirty days, and the postage on letters to be one shilling the half ounce, of which the company was to receive ten pence. This arrangement

caused much dissatisfaction in South Africa. In 1872 the Cape parliament had agreed with Mr. Donald Currie to convey a mail monthly to and from England at a greatly reduced rate of postage, upon payment of £150 for every day under thirty in which the passage should be made, and this plan seemed to answer better than the other. On the 17th of May 1873 the steamer *Windsor Castle*, of Mr. Currie's line, arrived in Table Bay after a passage from Dartmouth of twenty-three days and fifteen minutes, the shortest run on record by some fifty hours. This was used as a strong argument against the provisional arrangement made in England, which was therefore not carried out.

Negotiations with both companies were then commenced, but were not completed until 1875, when the arrangement made was for a mail weekly to and from England. The Union and the Castle lines were to run steamers alternately, which were to perform the passage in twenty-five days. For every day under twenty-five of a passage the Cape government was to pay the company owning the steamer £100, and for every day exceeding twenty-five the company was to pay the same amount. The postage on letters was to be at the rate of six pence the half ounce, of which the imperial government was to receive one penny, the colonial government one penny and the company conveying the mail four pence. The contracts were for five years, and were approved of by the Cape parliament in 1875.

This arrangement was modified in the following year, when Mr. Molteno was in England. He arranged with the two companies for a weekly service for seven years commencing on the 5th of October 1876. For every twelve hours of a passage above twenty-three and under twenty-six days the company owning the steamer was to be paid £50, for every twelve hours under twenty-three days it was to be paid £75, and for every twelve hours over twenty-six days the company was to pay a fine of

£50. These premiums for speed had the effect that nearly every steamship built by either of the companies was an improvement upon the others then existing, and soon a passage of three weeks came to be looked upon as nothing unusual. Increase in the passenger and freight traffic necessitated ever and ever larger and more powerful ships, until before the close of the century the Cape mail steamers were among the finest in the world, and the passage between Southampton and Capetown was regularly made with the punctuality of an express train in sixteen days. Intermediate steamers of the same lines were running weekly, making the passage in twenty-one days, calling at Teneriffe or Grand Canary and at Saint Helena, and carrying passengers at cheaper rates than the more luxuriously furnished mailboats. Several other lines of steamers, that would once have been considered magnificent ships, were then conveying passengers and cargo to and from the Cape, usually making the run to and from England in twenty-one days, and some of them had accommodation but slightly inferior to that in the intermediate boats of the then united Union-Castle line. This enormous progress in ocean traffic was typical of the general progress of South Africa, from which it naturally resulted.

In the coastal service corresponding improvements were constantly going on, and Mossel Bay, Port Elizabeth, and East London were as amply provided for as was Capetown.

The inland mails were conveyed in carts until railways were constructed, but these ran more frequently than formerly. From the beginning of 1874 there was a daily mail between Capetown and Port Elizabeth.

In October 1873 a good carriage road was completed through the Tradouw gorge in the mountain range skirting the karoo, near the town of Swellendam. It was formally opened by the governor, Sir Henry Barkly, who named it Southey's pass.

On the 8th of December 1873 the chief justice, Sir Sydney Smith Bell, retired from office, owing to ill health, when his place was taken by the attorney-general, the honourable John Henry de Villiers, later Sir Henry, later still Lord de Villiers, who in after years proved himself one of the most eminent judges in the British empire. His place as attorney-general in the ministry of Mr. Molteno was taken by Mr. Simeon Jacobs, who held it until August 1877, when ill health obliged him to retire, and Advocate Stockenström succeeded.

No other change in the ministry occurred until the 20th of July 1875, when the auditor-general, Mr. Eldred Mowbray Cole, retired on pension, and the honourable Charles Abercrombie Smith (later Sir Charles), commissioner of crown lands and public works, was appointed to succeed him. Mr. Smith made an excellent auditor, but there was much dissatisfaction expressed on his appointment, as it was not considered proper that a minister should be transferred to an important position in the civil service. The matter came before parliament in the next session, and in May 1876 the house of assembly by a large majority affirmed the inexpediency of a ministry appointing one of its members to a permanent office. No such transfer of employment, consequently, has since been made. To succeed Mr. Smith as commissioner of crown lands and public works, Mr. (later the right honourable) John Xavier Merriman was appointed.

An experiment that had been made by the Dutch East India Company without success was now repeated and carried on for several years in different parts of the Cape Colony with the same result. This was the production of silk, and it was owing to the energy of Dr. Hiddingh, a gentleman of means, that it was made. He was desirous of turning the time and muscles of the numerous idle coloured women and children of Stellenbosch to some account, and bethought him of the silkworm as a useful agent for that purpose. He procured eggs, and set about

teaching the children how to breed the worms and wind the silk. He was an enthusiast, who spared neither his time nor his purse in the undertaking, and he was able to induce people all over the colony to aid in the experiment. A quantity of silk was really produced at Stellenbosch, which was sent by Dr. Hiddingh to England, where it was woven into scarfs. An English firm of manufacturers then offered to purchase as much raw silk of the same quality as could be procured at thirty-six shillings a pound (£3 19s. 6d. a kilogramme), delivered in London. But it takes a very long time and requires a great deal of patience to wind a pound of silk, and though Dr. Hiddingh tried his utmost to persuade the coloured people that it was better to expend that time and patience in earning thirty-six shillings than to be idle and earn nothing at all, he did not succeed in inducing them to continue the task.

The government assisted in the experiment by securing the service of some Italian families who were skilled in silk culture, bringing them out to South Africa, and stationing them at the Knysna, which was believed to be the most suitable locality in the colony for the purpose intended. But no one will work for a shilling when, everything else being equal, he can earn two or three in the same time, and the returns in this industry were so small that success was hopeless. Wherever it was tried the result was the same, and it soon became evident that silk could only be produced profitably in countries where labour was very much cheaper than in South Africa.

The defeat of the bill for the amendment of the constitution was followed on the 20th of August 1873 by the dissolution of both houses of parliament, and an appeal by the government to the country. The elections for the legislative council took place on the 5th of November. There were thirteen candidates in the western province and fifteen in the eastern, and the result of

the election was the return of a majority in favour of the ministry. The elections for the house of assembly took place in February 1874.

The new parliament met on the 28th of May 1874. The seven circles bill was introduced at once, and was carried in the assembly by a large majority and in the council by eleven votes to eight. By this act the colony was divided into seven circles, each of which was entitled to return three members of the legislative council, so that the country districts would be more equitably represented than under the old system of two provinces, under which Capetown and Grahamstown secured an undue proportion of votes. It was anticipated by the ministry that the new system would also have the advantage of putting an end to the clamour for separation of the provinces with a distinct government in each, which was still advocated by a large section of the English party in the east. The old principle of electing members was retained, that is an elector could give his three votes to one candidate or distribute them as he pleased, thus securing the representation of minorities. The members were to be elected for seven years, instead of ten as before, and were all to be returned at the same time. The chief justice remained president of the council by virtue of his office, and could take part in the debates. The first election under this system took place in November 1878.

In the session of 1874, which closed on the 31st of July, provision was made for an increase in the number of magistrates in the colony. On the 1st of April 1873 the Wittebergen Native Reserve, previously under a superintendent, became a magisterial district, and was named Herschel. On the 3rd of September 1874 Tarka was proclaimed a magisterial district, on the 19th of the same month Willowmore, on the 23rd of the same month Carnarvon, and on the 10th of October Port Nolloth were similarly proclaimed.

Other important acts of the session of 1874 were one for taking a census, one permitting free testamentary disposition of property, and one for detaining the Hlubi chief Langalibalele and his son Malambule, who had been pronounced guilty of rebellion in Natal, as prisoners on Robben Island, as Natal had no place in which they could be confined in safety, and it was regarded as necessary for the peace of South Africa that they should be kept in security. Provision was made for the construction of three bridges over the Orange river and for the improvement of various ports, among which was Port Nolloth on the coast of Little Namaqualand, where copper ore was shipped for Swansea.

But what makes this session more decidedly a memorable one was the approval of the construction of some eight hundred miles or twelve hundred and eighty kilometres of additional railroad at an estimated cost of £5,000,000. The line was being extended from Wellington to Worcester, in accordance with a resolution of parliament in the preceding year, and now a further extension by way of the Hex river kloof and over the karoo to Beaufort West was authorised. The property of the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage Railway Company was purchased, and from Zwartkops River, where on the 2nd of January of this year 1874 the line from Port Elizabeth had been opened, there were to be extensions to Graaff-Reinet and to the Bushman's river. From East London there was to be a line to Queenstown, with a short branch from Blaney station to King-Williamstown. This was a tremendous leap forward for a colony with a European population of less than a quarter of a million, but it was a necessary advance if the interior was to be opened up, as there were no navigable rivers, and ox-waggon traffic was not only slow and expensive, but was often interrupted.

The progress made in the construction of the railroads previously authorised is here shown. From Wellington

to Tulbagh Road just beyond the cleft in the first range of mountains through which the Little Berg river flows, the line was opened on the 31st of August 1875, to Ceres Road on the 3rd of November 1875, and to Worcester on the 16th of June 1876. From Port Elizabeth the line was opened to Commando Kraal on the 24th of July 1875, and to Uitenhage on the 21st of September of the same year.

An event that should not pass unnoticed was the opening in February 1874 of the Huguenot seminary for girls, as no other institution in the country has done so much for the education of the daughters of the farmers and their training in habits of neatness and usefulness. This excellent institution owes its existence to the zeal of the reverend Dr. Andrew Murray, who took advantage of a large building at Wellington being for sale, and collected sufficient money to purchase it and adapt it to the purpose of a boarding school. Trained teachers were obtained from Holyoke in America, one of whom, Miss Ferguson, a lady of great energy and ability, was the first principal. The object was to give a sound Christian education and to inculcate habits of tidiness and domestic economy in the pupils, rather than to turn out idle ladies. The school grew rapidly, extensive buildings were erected, largely by means of money contributed in America, and at length a college department was added in which selected girls are trained as teachers and to fill important positions in life, while the lower school continues its highly useful work. The late Mr. John Samuel, organising inspector of schools, testified of the Huguenot seminary that on entering a farm house in any part of the western districts he could see at once whether the daughters had been trained at Wellington or not. If they had, everything was clean and tidy, and the table at meals was laid out in a way that would have been creditable in any town household. He could not speak too highly of the admirable work this school is doing.

Ostrich farming was at this time being rapidly extended throughout the colony, as it was found more profitable than any other industry. It was certainly precarious, as the sale of plumes in large quantities depended entirely upon fashion in Europe and America, but as no other feather can compare with that of the ostrich as an ornament for ladies' hats, there was a likelihood of the demand being maintained. This industry was of great benefit to the colony. The large profits enabled many farmers to redeem the mortgages upon their properties, and fencing, previously almost unknown except for gardens, became common. The plumage of different birds varies in quality and in degrees of whiteness, hence a careful selection was needed for breeding purposes, and choice birds brought almost fabulous prices. The ostrich of North Africa has feathers of purer white than those of the south of the continent, and in 1876 four choice birds were imported from Barbary by Messrs. Adler & Co., of Port Elizabeth. But the expense of obtaining them and bringing them out was so great that when they were offered for sale by auction it was not covered, and the experiment was not repeated.

As if to compensate for the profits derived from ostrich farming, two insect pests at this time made their appearance, and did an immense amount of damage. One of these was the dorthesia, [commonly called the Australian bug, because it was first observed on trees of Australian origin. How it came into the country is not known, but in 1873 some blackwood trees in the Cape peninsula were seen to be infested with it. All efforts to destroy it were in vain, and with amazing rapidity it spread until all the beautiful blackwood trees, with which the streets of many villages throughout the colony were adorned, were utterly destroyed. From the blackwood it spread to the orange trees, and soon appeared to be almost omnivorous, not even the strawberry plants escaping. The orange groves of the western districts, from which many families made

a comfortable living by selling citrons, limes, lemons, and the most delicious oranges and nartjes at a shilling the hundred, entirely disappeared before it. Year after year its ravages extended farther and farther, not only in geographical extent but in the variety of plants infested by it, when fortunately it was discovered that a Californian ladybird was its natural enemy and capable of destroying it. Men were sent to California by the government, and the ladybird was introduced. It had a large field to work in, but it proved itself a thoroughly efficient agent, and in course of time, thanks to the perseverance of this little beetle, it became possible to plant orange groves once more. The ornamental blackwood tree has not yet been reintroduced.

Another and still more destructive insect that began to cause alarm in South Africa in 1873 was the phylloxera, that had then done immense damage to the vineyards of France and other parts of Europe. This insect preys upon the roots of the vine, and the first indication of its presence is the death of the plant. How it was introduced into South Africa is not known. When it was realised in 1873 that the scourge was in the country it was hoped that its spread might be checked, for it was supposed to exist in only a few localities, and there the vines were dug up and burnt. Importations of plants of all kinds from abroad were prohibited, through fear of introducing the insect, but this restriction was soon found to have been made too late. The phylloxera spread, and utter ruin was staring a large and important section of the community in the face when a remedy was discovered. There is an American vine whose roots resist the attack of the phylloxera, or upon which it cannot live, and cuttings were obtained and propagated as rapidly as possible. Upon the plant, as soon as it has taken root, the grape bearing vine is grafted, which thus becomes immune from the insect pest. But the expense of re-planting a large vineyard is very considerable, and the

loss of time before it is in full bearing is a heavy item on the wrong side of the ledger, so that the viticulturists suffered heavily from this plague.

In December 1874 great damage was done in the eastern districts by such floods as had not been known for half a century previously. Rain fell not in drops but in sheets, which caused every river and every streamlet to overflow its banks, and rush down to the sea with terrible force. Such bridges as were not high above the water and resting on piers of great strength were washed away, many houses were wholly or partly destroyed, cultivated ground disappeared, leaving only bare rock or barren subsoil, and great numbers of sheep and horned cattle were drowned. In many places human beings narrowly escaped being carried away by a rush of water in places always before considered perfectly safe. At East London five vessels were wrecked in the great storm, and at Port Natal two, for the floods were not confined to the Cape Colony, but were general throughout South-Eastern Africa.

It is only at long intervals that disasters of this kind occur, though precaution should always be taken when building, especially near streams, to provide against sudden rushes of water. Generally such storms are confined within very narrow limits, and it sometimes happens that deep channels may be washed out along a particular line, while a few hundred paces on each side of it not a drop of rain falls. Such was the case, for instance, in December 1875, when the Doorn river, which runs through the village of Heidelberg in the Cape Colony, suddenly rose and carried away forty-five houses with all their contents, with the loss of two lives. The gardens along the course of the stream were completely destroyed, all the soil being washed away.

Cotton growing was now dying out in the eastern districts, owing mainly to the scarcity of labour in the picking season. In 1874 unginned cotton weighing ninety-

two thousand pounds (41,818 kilogrammes) was exhibited in Grahamstown, but this was the last occasion on which any considerable quantity was gathered.

On the 7th of March 1875 a census of the colony was taken. The population was found to have increased in the preceding ten years at the rate of twenty-four per cent, and to consist of

Europeans	...	...	...	...	...	236,783
Bantu	...	...	...	...	...	287,639
Hottentots	...	...	...	...	...	98,561
Mixed breeds	...	...	...	...	...	87,184
Malays	...	...	...	...	...	10,817
Total						720,984

or 3·6 to the square mile, the Europeans being a little less than one-third of the whole number.

The most prominent subject of discussion throughout South Africa for some time after May 1875 was that of the union of the several colonies and states under one government. It arose from a despatch of Lord Carnarvon, since February 1874 secretary of state for the colonies, to Sir Henry Barkly, dated the 4th of May, desiring a conference to be held in the colony to discuss a uniform system of dealing with the Bantu, the supply of arms and ammunition to those people, and the advantages of confederation. He named the individuals whom he wished to take part in the conference: Mr. Theophilus Shepstone to represent Natal, Mr. Richard Southey to represent Griqualand West, Mr. J. C. Molteno to represent the western province of the Cape Colony, Mr. John Paterson to represent *the eastern province* of the Cape Colony, a delegate from the Orange Free State, one from the South African Republic, Mr. James Anthony Froude, the historian, to represent Great Britain, and Sir Henry Barkly or Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Augustus Thurlow Cunynghame, who since March 1874 had been in command of the British troops

in South Africa, as president. The views of the British government regarding South Africa were thus diametrically opposite to what they had been less than twenty years before, with the exception that now as then the principal object was to save expense.

The intention of Lord Carnarvon was unquestionably good, and there were few thinking men in South Africa who were not in favour of the union of the disjointed sections of the country, but the time was singularly inopportune for such a conference as was proposed, and the very manner in which it was brought forward gave offence to the party in power in the colony. It was inopportune, because the Orange Free State was then irritated by the loss of territory, and certainly would not take part in any discussion if a representative of Griqualand West was admitted. The South African Republic was also irritated by the staggering blow it had received when its south-western districts were declared by the Keate award not to belong to it, and would not take part in any movement that might end in the loss of its independence. It was in favour of union certainly, but union under the republican flag, which the English colonies would resist to the last. Mr. Pieter Jacobus Joubert, who was acting as president during the absence of Mr. Burgers in Europe, put the case of his state clearly when on the 7th of June 1875 he wrote to Sir Henry Barkly enquiring whether the sending of a delegate by the South African Republic would be regarded as equivalent to an acknowledgment of the Keate award.

The colonial ministry objected to the proposed conference because they thought it should originate in South Africa, not in England, and they were annoyed that a delegate had been named to represent the eastern province. The prime minister represented the whole colony, they said, not a part of it only. And as if to strengthen their view of the matter, the old separatist

party raised its head again, and began an agitation on the plea that Lord Carnarvon was in favour of their ideas.

On the 14th of April parliament had assembled, and on the 30th of June it was prorogued. The despatch arrived during the session, and was laid before it, when much merriment was created by the name of Mr. John Paterson being included in the number of Lord Carnarvon's nominees, as he was not only an opponent of the existing government, but was far from being of conciliatory disposition. A minute of the ministers was attached to the despatch, opposing the proposed conference on the ground that the time was inopportune, that the despatch resuscitated the separation movement, and that such a measure should originate in South Africa. Many of the members, however, felt grateful to Lord Carnarvon for the interest he was taking in the country and for his advocacy of a measure that might tend to better treatment of the two republics. In the legislative council a resolution thanking him was carried by nine votes to seven, but in the assembly the minute of the ministers, based on the principle that in a colony possessing responsible government such action as that of the secretary of state was unconstitutional, was approved of by thirty-two votes to twenty-three.

On ascertaining that the Cape Colony would take no part in the conference, Lord Carnarvon abandoned the plan of holding it there, and on the 15th of July 1875 proposed that the place of meeting should be Natal, with Sir Henry Bulwer as president. There was then a prospect that the Orange Free State would be represented, as President Brand had expressed his willingness to take part in a discussion upon the treatment of the Bantu and the sale of arms to those people, if the British government would consent to settle the dispute regarding the diamond fields by direct negotiation. To this condition Lord Carnarvon had agreed, and if an

amicable settlement should be effected, one difficulty would be removed. The plan of a conference in Natal, however, was soon abandoned.

On the 20th of June Mr. Froude, who had been nominated by Lord Carnarvon to represent Great Britain, arrived in Capetown from England. He had visited South Africa once before—21 September 1874 to 10 January 1875—and had made a tour to the principal towns, gathering information on the country and its people. He announced himself as a private gentleman unconnected with government, and was everywhere well received as a distinguished visitor. To the residents in the Free State he had made himself particularly agreeable by praising their institutions in his speeches at public meetings and commending their love of independence. He could not fail to be impressed with the harsh treatment the Free State had sustained, and as he freely expressed his opinion that a great wrong had been done, the Dutch-speaking people throughout the country together with the moderate English residents—those who placed a higher value upon Great Britain's strict adherence to treaty obligations than upon territorial expansion however alluring—regarded him with much favour. When he arrived the second time he came as a confidential agent of Lord Carnarvon, expecting to take part in a conference, and anxious to carry into effect the wishes of that minister in regard to the union of the colonies and the republics. No abler person could have been selected for the purpose, if it had been practicable.

He found that the colony would not take part in a conference, and that consequently without the member of the proposed confederation that would have to bear the greater part of the burden of defence of the whole, any union of the others would be a farce. He therefore set to work to create such a strong opinion in favour of the measure as would compel the ministry either to change their attitude or to give place to others more tractable.

He made a tour through the country, attending meetings at the chief centres of population and speaking of the benefits that would follow the adoption of Lord Carnarvon's scheme. A fluent orator, though he adapted himself to his audience and his observations at one place were often contradictory of those at another, he was able to create enthusiasm, especially among those who for any reason were opposed to the existing ministry. It was a strange spectacle, that of an agent of the secretary of state delivering speeches antagonistic to the existing authorities in a colony possessing responsible government, and it tended to create partisan feeling of a very bitter kind.

A special session of the Cape parliament was summoned to consider the matter, and met on the 10th of November. On the following day discussion was prevented in the legislative council by an immediate vote being called for, when a resolution in favour of being represented in the proposed conference was carried by nine votes against six. A little later a despatch was received by the governor from Lord Carnarvon, and was made public, announcing that he had abandoned the design of a conference in South Africa in favour of one to be held in London. Thereupon, after eight days' debating in the house of assembly, a resolution was proposed by Mr. Solomon, accepted by the ministry, and carried by thirty-six votes to twenty-two, that "as it appears from the despatch dated the 22nd of October 1875 that the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies has withdrawn his proposal for a Conference of Representatives of the several Colonies and States of South Africa, this House is of opinion that it is not now called upon to record its continued objection to the holding, at the present time, of such a Conference, or its condemnation of the unconstitutional agitation carried on in the Colony in connection with this question. The House desires, however, to express its opinion that the Government and

Parliament should, if it be desired by the Imperial Government, give it their counsel and assistance in settling the difficulties which have arisen out of the extension of British jurisdiction to the Territory known as Griqualand West."

On the 25th of November Mr. Froude left the Cape to return to England, where he sent in a long and interesting report of his transactions in South Africa, which shows that he failed to grasp the real causes of the failure of the scheme he had advocated so brilliantly. He had not been sufficiently long in the country to understand the feelings of its people.

In response to Lord Carnarvon's invitation to the governments of the several colonies and states of South Africa to send delegates to a conference in London, only Natal complied fully. Messrs. Shepstone, Ackerman, and Robinson were deputed to represent that colony. On the 9th of June 1876 the Cape house of assembly resolved not to appoint delegates to the conference, but to send Mr. J. C. Molteno to give advice and assistance in the settlement of the Griqualand West dispute. Mr. Molteno left on the 7th of July for this purpose, but found on his arrival in England that Lord Carnarvon and President Brand had already concluded an amicable arrangement regarding the disputed boundary. He therefore took no part in the conference. President Brand had gone to England to endeavour to obtain redress from Lord Carnarvon for the seizure of territory belonging to his state, the imperial authorities having consented to deal directly with him instead of through the medium of the high commissioner.

He arrived in London on the 6th of May 1876, and was courteously received by Lord Carnarvon. He asked for the restitution of the territory east of the Vaal river and north of the Vetberg line, that had been seized under the supposition that it belonged to the Griqua captain Nicholas Waterboer, and which had since been

pronounced by a British court of justice, after long and patient investigation, never to have been occupied or possessed in any way by Waterboer or his people. This was now indisputable, as was also the fact that it had formed part of the Orange River Sovereignty and afterwards of the Orange Free State. But restitution was then impossible. In that territory were the principal diamond mines, the great majority of the residents were British subjects, and there were vested interests that could not be disturbed without ruinous consequences. Lord Carnarvon was obliged therefore to decline useless discussion on that point, but offered a pecuniary solatium instead. With the assistance of Mr. Donald Currie the amount of this was fixed at £90,000, and the boundary line was modified so as to restore to the Free State some farms whose owners were particularly desirous of retaining their republican citizenship. Thus one of the causes of unrest in South Africa was removed.

The volksraad of the Free State had empowered the president to attend the conference and discuss the questions of a uniform policy throughout South Africa regarding the treatment of the Bantu and of the supply of arms and ammunition to those people, but not to take part in any debate that might affect the independence of the state. The South African Republic took no notice at all of the matter.

The so-called conference was opened in London on the 3rd of August 1876. Lord Carnarvon presided in person. Sir Garnet Wolseley had been invited to take part in it, and was present. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, as he had now become, and Messrs. Ackerman and Robinson were there, as was Mr. Froude, who had been requested by Lord Carnarvon to represent Griqualand West. These and President Brand constituted the conference. On the 15th Mr. Brand left to return to South Africa, but nominated Mr. H. A. L. Hamelberg to represent him at any future meeting. The whole thing

had become a farce, but the secretary of state professed to have obtained sufficient information from it to guide him in framing an act to enable the colonies and states to enter into confederation.

Some events of minor importance that occurred during the period embraced in this chapter may here be recorded.

On the 29th of May 1874 her Majesty the queen was pleased to grant to the Cape Colony the coat of arms now in use. It was designed by Mr. Charles Aitken Fairbridge, of Capetown, and is emblematic of the Dutch, French, and British elements in the population, while the supporters are characteristically South African animals, the gnu and the gemsbok.

On the 14th of January 1875 a disastrous fire broke out in the town of Stellenbosch, and could not be extinguished until engines and three hundred men of the 86th regiment arrived from Capetown. Some fifty houses were burned before the flames were subdued.

During the night of the 1st of October of the same year an almost equally destructive fire took place in the village of Wellington, when some forty houses with their contents were burned.

CHAPTER II.

EVENTS IN THE CAPE COLONY IN 1876 AND 1877.

DURING 1876 and the early months of 1877 the progress of construction of the different railway and harbour works was rapid, and immigrants continued to arrive from Europe in considerable numbers, so that the prospects of the colony continued to be cheerful. At this time several parties of agricultural immigrants from Northern Germany were provided with land on the Cape flats, which they soon turned to good account. The rolling sand had previously been fixed by means of the mesembryanthemum, and screens of acacias and similar trees prevented the wind from disturbing large areas, which could then be placed under cultivation. The sand was found to be fertile, and was made still more so by stable litter and street sweepings carted to it from Capetown, so that it bore excellent crops of vegetables. The contrast is great between the Cape flats as a dreary waste of drifting sand and a succession of little farms with comfortable houses and hard roads, with screens of trees and green fields and gardens, with even a railway to convey produce to market as is seen to-day, and it depicts what can be effected in South Africa by the industry and patience of such men and women as these immigrants.

In November 1876 the eminent marine engineer Sir John Coode arrived in Capetown from England, his object being to inspect the different ports of the Cape Colony and Natal and devise plans for their improvement. His reports upon East London and Durban were

especially favourable, though his estimate of the cost of the necessary works was high. At Port Natal he found that Mr. Milne's designs, according to which construction had been carried out from 1850 to 1856, were good, but that Captain Vetch's plans, which were afterwards adopted, were faulty. Upon these £200,000 had been thrown away. Sir John Coode's plans have since been carried out, both at Port Natal and at East London, with excellent results, the bars at both places have been removed so as to allow the largest vessels to enter, and safe harbours have thus been formed where ships can lie beside piers and discharge or load as if in a dock.

On the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony in 1876 there was a deep feeling of unrest, owing to the prevalence of cattle thefts on an alarming scale by the Xosas and the insecurity of the farmers. At one time there was almost a panic, for the robbers had become so daring that a general collision was apprehended. Since 1857 there had been nothing to check the amazing natural increase of the Xosas, and they were now pushing their way into localities previously occupied by Europeans. The law gave them a great advantage. A European could not purchase or hire land occupied by them on communal tenure, or even the grants made to individuals by Sir George Grey in the district of King-Williamstown,* the title-deeds of which contained a clause that they could not be transferred except to other Bantu without the consent of the government. The object in making those grants was to create a body of individual landholders who would serve as an example of prosperity to the other Bantu, and therefore consent to transfer to a European was never given. But it was perfectly free to a Xosa to hire or purchase land from

* Sir George Grey gave between two and three hundred selected Bantu men titles under individual tenure to plots of land in the district of King-Williamstown, each from forty to eighty acres in extent. Most of these plots are still occupied by the descendants of the original grantees.

Europeans, and so white farmers were giving place to blacks in many localities.

When a farmer leased land to Bantu, his neighbours made a great cry against him, but they were soon obliged to follow his example and go and live elsewhere. On the right bank of the Keiskama at the junction with the Tyumie a block of three farms had been purchased by Oba, son of Tyali, who had left the Gaika location with many hundred followers and gone to live there. Some Imidange, the most expert thieves in the whole country, had taken up their residence on one of these farms also. Tini, a son of Makoma, had actually purchased ground in the Waterkloof, where his father had been able to hold out so long in the war of 1850-52, and had moved to it from the Gaika location with a large body of retainers. It was only natural that the Xosas should try to recover in this way the land they had lost, and it would be most unfair to describe their motives as criminal; but looking at the matter from the farmers' standpoint, the position had become dangerous, and the march of civilisation was threatened.

Mission work was effecting changes with a small section of the Xosas, and other agencies were operating in bringing them more into line with European habits, but the great majority still clung to the ideals and customs of their ancestors. If they had adopted the use of iron pots, of blankets, or even the clothing of the white people, and frequently of ploughs, that did not indicate a change of much value. They all desired to have guns, but every savage does that. The Xosas in fact were an intensely conservative people, and just because they were, when any of them did make a change it was likely to be lasting. In course of time they would probably take a place among the most advanced coloured people in the world, but in 1876 that time was not yet in sight. Still there were indications that it would come, for a community that could produce

such men as the eloquent and zealous reverend Tiyo Soga, the devoted evangelist William Koyi, who died as a missionary in Central Africa, William Seti, one of the most painstaking and competent clerks the author of these volumes ever had, John Knox Bokwe (now the reverend), who for many years was secretary and book-keeper of the Lovedale institution, and a score of others that might be mentioned, must have a lofty future before it. The Xosas, like all other Bantu, are of mixed blood, and among their ancestors must have been Asiatics of high intelligence. The men here named may have owed their qualities to atavism, but even if so, they serve as models for their people to work up to, and in course of time an elevation must take place. If by any mischance they were left to themselves they would not advance, but with civilisation facing them and the leaven of a higher life working in the minds of some of themselves, they must conform to the law of progress.

In 1876 while there was a small section professing Christianity and living to some extent in the manner of Europeans, the great bulk of the Xosa tribe had made little or no advance beyond the condition in which their ancestors were a hundred years before. They had become well acquainted with white people since the dispersion of 1857, and did not hate them as bitterly as before, still there was little love lost on either side. The death of Makoma on Robben Island on the 9th of September 1873 was an event that had caused much ill feeling, for he, the hero of the Xosas, had died in banishment, without a relative or a friend near him, with no one to give him the burial that became a chief of high rank and distinguished valour. The government had decided to send one of his wives and a servant to keep him company, but had postponed doing so until it was too late. Drunkard and half maniac as he was when among his own people, it is impossible not to feel

sorrow for the unfortunate old man, passing his last days on a bare islet far from the pleasant woods and streams of Kaffraria, and with no one near him that cared whether he lived or died. And if one of another race sympathises with him, what must the Gaikas have felt when the tidings reached them that he had died as a dog dies? What must Tini, his son, have felt?

The fate of Makoma is an illustration of what must happen when civilisation and barbarism come in contact, and barbarism refuses to give way. It was not in his nature to refrain from causing disturbances when he was at liberty on the frontier, and so the government was obliged to place him in confinement at a distance, where he could not communicate with the people who were ready to obey his orders at any hazard to themselves. He can be pitied, but can hardly be blamed, for being what he was, and the government cannot be blamed for acting as it did, though it is to be regretted that the benevolent intention to provide him with some companions was not carried into effect more quickly.

In 1876 a frontier defence commission was appointed, with Mr. (later Sir) John Gordon Sprigg as its chairman, to take evidence as to the condition of affairs and to endeavour to devise a plan of restoring tranquillity. Mr. Sprigg was a farmer in the district of East London, and the other members were equally well acquainted with the state of the border, but they took a good deal of evidence on the subject. In January 1877 the commission sent in a report which was somewhat startling, for the farmers were living, it stated, as if on the brink of a volcano. It proposed an additional expenditure of £150,000 a year for defensive purposes, and recommended the increase of the frontier armed and mounted police from nine hundred, its strength at the time, to twelve hundred men, with three hundred footmen additional attached to it for the purpose of garrisoning fixed posts. A strong burgher force was

proposed to be organised, and volunteers were recommended to be encouraged.

By persons at a distance the danger described in this report was regarded as greatly exaggerated, and parliament, when it met, was indisposed to incur the expense recommended, but before the year ended there was ample proof that the border was really in a condition of peril.

In 1873 the territory between the river Kei and the colony of Natal was occupied by a number of tribes independent of each other, among whom war was almost constant. The British government had disclaimed authority over them all, but some of them—particularly the Fingos and the different clans that had been located by Major Gawler at Idutywa—refused to be abandoned, and looked to the Cape colonial government for protection, without which they could not exist. These people, having no chiefs of rank over them, regarded the diplomatic agents in the country not as mere consuls, but as their rulers, and construed advice given to them as orders which they willingly obeyed. There were the Galekas, the Bomvanas, the Tembus proper, the emigrant Tembus, the Pondomsis in two sections, the Bacas, the Xesibes, the Pondos in two sections, the Griquas, the little communities located by Sir Philip Wodehouse along the base of the Drakensberg, and some others of minor importance, from any of whom a disturbance might arise that would end in a big war.

As the territory was no longer of the value that it had been when a large¹⁰ portion of it was unoccupied and might without injustice to any one have been used for settlement by Europeans, neither the colonists nor the government cast a covetous eye upon it. Its possession could not add to the public wealth, but on the contrary would cost more money to maintain than could be derived from it. But the colonial government felt itself under the necessity of taking the responsibility of

enforcing order, and that implied the extension of its authority over the various tribes.

War between the Galekas under Kreli and the Tembus proper under Gangelizwe forced the ministry to act, in order to extend colonial influence to the rear of those tribes, and in July 1873 Mr. Joseph Millerd Orpen, previously a member of the house of assembly and an ardent advocate of the extension of authority over the border tribes, was appointed magistrate with a little party of colonial blacks who had settled at the Gatberg, in the present district of Maclear, and with the Hlubi under Zibi, the Batlokua under Lehana, and the Basuto under Lebenys, who had been located by Sir Philip Wodehouse on the high plateau under the Drakensberg. These people were then so entirely at the mercy of more powerful neighbours that they expressed satisfaction with the appointment of a magistrate to exercise jurisdiction over them, because it implied their protection. Mr. Orpen was also appointed British resident for the whole of the territory then termed Nomansland, now Griqualand East.

Upon his arrival in the territory, he found that war was being carried on by the Pondo chief Ndamasi against the Pondomsis under Umhlonhlo, and that the rival sections of the Pondomsis were as usual fighting with each other. The Pondos were gaining an ascendancy over their divided opponents, and there seemed a likelihood that they would be able to crush them at no distant date. Mr. Orpen immediately organised the Hlubi, Batlokua, and Basuto clans under him into a military force, and called upon Adam Kok, the chief of the Griquas, for assistance. In September he visited Umhlonhlo and Umditshwa, both of whom again made overtures to be received under British protection, and promised to lay down their arms. Then, feeling confident that the Pondos, seeing the force that could be brought against them, would hesitate before coming into

collision with the colonial government, he called upon them to cease hostilities. They did so, and within a few weeks there was peace throughout the territory.

In October the secretary for native affairs authorised Mr. Orpen to announce to Umhlonhlo and Umditshwa that they and their people were received as British subjects. Makaula, chief of the Bacas, and Makwai, chief of a clan of refugee Basuto, had repeated their applications, but the colonial government considered it advisable to let their cases stand over for a while, as they were not pressing. Formal notification of their acceptance was made to the two Pondonsi chiefs on the 22nd of October, and information thereof was sent to Umqikela and Ndamasi. These chiefs objected, first to the line from the Umtata to the Umzimvubu between Nomansland and Pondoland, secondly to the reception as British subjects of chiefs and people whom they claimed as being under their jurisdiction, and thirdly to the appointment of British officials in Pondo territory without their consent. But they declared that they had every desire to remain at peace with the colonial government, and would therefore respect the new arrangement.

The failure of the rebellion of the Hlubis under Langelibalele in Natal* did much to strengthen the authority of the Cape government in Nomansland. The rebels had many relatives living in this territory under Ludidi, Langelibalele's brother, Zibi, Langelibalele's second cousin, and several other chiefs, and it was at first supposed that they would try to make their way to their kinsmen. To prevent this, Mr. Orpen enrolled a band of Batlokua and Basuto, and when it was ascertained that the rebels had gone to Basutoland, he actually went across the Drakensberg to assist the colonial forces against them with two hundred and thirty-five picked men under Lehana and Lebenya. But the country he had to traverse was the most rugged in South Africa,

* See page 227 *et seq.*

so that he did not reach Basutoland until after the surrender of Langalibalele. To all the tribes in Natal, and particularly to those in Nomansland where the conflicting elements were more numerous than elsewhere, the fate of the rebels was a lesson that the Europeans were strong enough to enforce order. The clans, though weary of their perpetual feuds, would certainly not have submitted to the white man's rule for any cause except that of respect for power. We flatter ourselves by speaking of our greater wisdom, clemency, sense of justice, &c., but there are few Bantu who respect us for any other quality than our superior strength.

After the reception of Umhlonhlo and Umditshwa as British subjects in 1873, Mr. Orpen took up his residence at Tsolo in the Pondomsi district, his object being to establish the authority of the Cape government there in something more than name. He found the chiefs Umhlonhlo and Umditshwa altogether opposed to any interference with their people. Though the system of government by means of magistrates had been explained to them and they had applied to be received as British subjects with full knowledge of what the effect upon themselves would be, they now remonstrated against any deprivation of their former power. Each of them was causing people to be put to death on charges of dealing in witchcraft, or merely from caprice. Umhlonhlo refused even to allow a census of his people to be taken.

In this case, as in so many others, the dissensions among the clans presented a lever to work with. Mr. Orpen explained how easily he could bring about a combination of opponents to crush any one who should resist him, and how slow friends would be in coming to assist against a power that had just punished Langalibalele so severely. The two chiefs realised the situation, and without much ado made a show of submission. They were both charged with murder, tried in open

court, found guilty, and fined in accordance with Bantu law.

The next event of importance in the territory was the establishment of colonial authority in Adam Kok's district. The Griquas had moved there at the instance of her Majesty's high commissioner in South Africa, but they had never received protection, or been in any way interfered with. Adam Kok was getting old, and was without an heir. In 1874 he had nominally some thirty-six thousand subjects, but only four thousand one hundred were Griquas, the remainder being aliens, Fingos, Basuto, Bacas, and others who had settled on ground given to him by Sir Philip Wodehouse. The demands made upon him by Mr. Orpen for assistance, first against the Pondos, and next against Langalibalele, showed him the anomalous position in which he was placed. He asked that he should either be recognised as an independent chief, or be granted the rights and privileges of a British subject.

On the 16th of October 1874 Governor Sir Henry Barkly, who was making a tour through the territories, met the Griqua chief and the members of his council at Kokstad. Mr. Orpen, the British resident in Nomansland, was with the governor. The question of Adam Kok's position was discussed, and a provisional agreement was made for the assumption of direct authority over the country by the colonial government. The official books and documents were transferred to Mr. Orpen by the Griqua secretary, and the territory was added by the governor to that already under the resident's charge, with the understanding that all existing institutions were to remain undisturbed for the time being.

In February 1875 Messrs. Donald Strachan, who had been a magistrate under Adam Kok, and Mr. G. C. Brisley, secretary of the Griqua government, arrived in Capetown as representatives of the Griqua chief and people, and concluded the arrangements. Kok was to

retain his title of chief, be paid a salary of £700 per annum, and have joint authority with a commissioner who should correspond directly with the secretary for native affairs. The members of the Griqua council were to receive small annuities, and all undisputed titles to land were to be confirmed. With these conditions all except a few lawless individuals were satisfied. Mr. Thomas A. Cumming, superintendent of Idutywa, was appointed acting commissioner, and assumed duty at Kokstad on the 25th of March 1875. Practically he carried on the government, as Kok left nearly everything in his hands. A petition against the change thus brought about was prepared by the disaffected party, but it only proved their weakness, for when forwarded to Capetown it contained no more than one hundred and thirty-one signatures. Adam Kok wrote to the colonial government, protesting against its being considered as of any importance, and stating that three-fourths of the signatures were those of persons who had neither position nor property of any kind in the country.

The territory thus added to the British dominions is that comprised in the three districts of Umzimkulu, Kokstad, and Matatiele. These districts were indeed formed under the Griqua government, and the same divisions continued to be recognised by the colonial authorities. Mr. Donald Strachan remained magistrate of Umzimkulu, and Mr. Cumming performed the same duties at Kokstad. Matatiele was left for a time without a magistrate. In these districts there were besides the Griquas, the Basuto under Makwai, the Hlubis under Ludidi, the Hlangwenis under Sidoyi, and a great many other Bantu clans, all of whom expressed pleasure on becoming British subjects.

On the 30th of December 1875 Adam Kok died. The nominal dual authority then ceased, as he had no successor. A few months later Captain Matthew Blyth was transferred from the Transkei to be chief magistrate

of the three Griqua districts, and assumed duty in March 1876, Mr. Cumming returning to Idutywa. On his arrival at Kokstad Captain Blyth found a rebellious spirit still existing among some of the Griquas, but as he was accompanied by a strong police force he had no difficulty in suppressing it. He placed two of the disaffected men under arrest, and disarmed the others, after which there was no open display of sedition.

He soon found that more serious danger was to be apprehended from the designs of Nehemiah Moshesh. That individual in 1875 had the assurance to bring his pretensions to the ownership of Matatiele by petition before the colonial parliament, and one of the objects of a commission appointed in that year was to investigate his claim. The commission consisted of Messrs. C. D. Griffith, governor's agent in Basutoland, S. A. Probart, member of the house of assembly, and T. A. Cumming, acting commissioner with Adam Kok. After a long and patient examination, these gentlemen decided that Nehemiah had forfeited any right he might ever have had through promises of Sir George Grey and Sir Philip Wodehouse to allow him to remain in Matatiele on good behaviour. Even before this decision was known he had been holding political meetings in the country, Mr. Orpen having permitted him again to take up his residence in it, and now he was endeavouring to bring about union of the Bantu tribes in the territory, with the evident object of throwing off European control. There could be no such thing as contentment in the land while such an agitator was at liberty, and Captain Blyth therefore had him arrested. He was subsequently tried in King-Williamstown and acquitted, but his detention in the meantime enabled the authorities to carry out the law and maintain order.

To the territory under Captain Blyth's administration was added in March 1876 the block of land between Matatiele, the Pondomsi country, and the Pondo boundary line, since

called the district of Mount Frere, by the acceptance of the Bacas under Makaula as British subjects. This chief and his counsellors had been favourably reported on by the commission of 1875. The terms under which they became subjects were the usual ones: that in all civil and in petty criminal complaints suitors might bring their cases before the magistrate or the chief at their option, that there should be an appeal from the chief to the magistrate, that important criminal cases were to be tried by the magistrate, that no charge of dealing in witchcraft was to be entertained, that on every hut a yearly tax of ten shillings was to be paid, and that the chief was to receive a salary of £100 a year and his counsellors certain smaller annuities. Captain Blyth placed Sub-Inspector John Maclean, of the frontier armed and mounted police, in charge of Makaula's people until the arrival in May 1876 of the magistrate selected by the secretary for native affairs, Mr. J. H. Garner, son of a missionary who had lived with them for many years.

No clan in the whole of the territories from the Kei to Natal afterwards gave greater satisfaction than the Bacas of Mount Frere. The reports from the magistrates were uniform as to their good conduct, and on several occasions they showed by their readiness to take the field with the colonial forces that they appreciated the advantages of British protection. Yet Makaula was a son of the ruthless freebooter Ncapayi, one of the most dreaded men of his time, so much has circumstance to do in moulding the character of a Bantu chief. He lived to a very advanced age, and died in September 1906.

Early in 1878, while the colony was involved in war with the Xosas, the disaffected Griquas took up arms under Smith Pommer, a Hottentot from the Kat river, and Adam Muis, who had at one time been an official under Adam Kok. They were confident of receiving assistance from the Pondos under Umqikela, and there

can be little doubt that if they had been successful at first the whole Pondo army would have joined them.

Smith Pommer visited Umqikela, and returned with ninety-three armed Pondos under command of Josiah Jenkins, a young man who had received a very good education, and who certainly knew what he was doing. He was a nephew of Umqikela, and when an infant had been given by Faku to the wife of the reverend Thomas Jenkins, who had brought him up and had him educated as if he was her own son. He spoke, read, and wrote English with as great fluency as if he had been English born and educated in London. He had given promise of becoming a useful man, had received an excellent training in bookkeeping and correspondence at Lovedale, from his earliest childhood had been accustomed to live as a European of a good class, and was professedly a Christian. This young man, piqued because he could not at once occupy a position in society that a Caucasian would need many years of patient labour to attain, and puffed up with conceit on account of his birth as a grandson of Faku, had gone back from school to Pondoland with an imaginary grievance, and having failed to be recognised as eminent in an intellectual capacity, was now making himself known as a mischief maker.

On the 11th of April the combined band of Pondos and Griquas under Jenkins and Pommer reached the farm of Mr. J. H. Acutt, about twelve miles east of Kokstad. They plundered the place, the Pondos using greater violence than the Griquas, and made prisoners of Mr. Acutt and a boy named Burton, whom they took away as hostages, but who were released by Pommer the same evening. The rebels then sent to Kokstad to demand the release of some men who were confined in the prison there, and when this was refused by Captain Blyth, they formed a camp under Adam Muis about two miles and a half from the village.

Meantime Mr. Donald Strachan, magistrate of Umzimkulu, had collected three hundred Hlangwenis, with whom he proceeded to Kokstad as rapidly as possible, and arrived there just in time. Sir Henry Bulwer, lieutenant-governor of Natal, was urgently requested to send assistance, and on the 14th of April two hundred and nineteen men of the third Buffs and fifty of the Natal mounted police left Maritzburg, but only arrived at Kokstad on the 22nd, too late to be of service.

On Sunday the 14th of April Captain Blyth with the frontier armed and mounted policemen at his disposal, only twenty in number, a few European volunteers, and a strong force of Sidoyi's Hlangwenis and Makaula's Bacas, attacked the rebel camp under Adam Muis. The Pondos under Josiah Jenkins now thought it better not to resist, and only five minutes before the actual fighting commenced they came out and surrendered. An apology was made for Josiah Jenkins that he had been sent by Umqikela to deliver Adam Muis to the chief magistrate, but that owing to his youth and inexperience he had blundered in carrying out his instructions, and this absurd excuse was accepted, as the colonial government was desirous of avoiding war with the Pondos. In the action that followed the Griquas were defeated with heavy loss, and their leader, Adam Muis, was killed. They retreated to the border of Natal, where they formed another camp, under Smith Pommer.

During the night of the 15th the magazine at Kokstad exploded, no one ever knew from what cause, when five men and three women were killed and three men and one woman were more or less severely injured. This was a serious, but not an irreparable disaster, as fortunately a sufficient number of cartridges were still on hand to enable operations to be carried on until a fresh supply could be obtained.

On the 17th Captain Blyth attacked the rebel camp, which was in a very strong position on the border of

Natal. The Griquas fought stubbornly until Smith Pommer and nineteen others were killed, when forty of them surrendered and the others dispersed. On Captain Blyth's side seven Hlangwenis and Bacas were killed, and twelve were wounded. Within the next four days fifty-three more insurgents were apprehended and committed to prison, and the insurrection was entirely quelled.

The districts of Umzimkulu, Kokstad, Matatiele, and Mount Frere remained under Captain Blyth's jurisdiction as chief magistrate until September 1878, when he returned to his former post in the Transkei, to which Galekaland was then added. Mr. Strachan continued to be magistrate at Umzimkulu, and Mr. Garner at Mount Frere. Mr. G. P. Stafford was stationed by Captain Blyth at Matatiele, and performed the duty of magistrate until August 1876, when Mr. M. W. Liefeldt was placed there. At Kokstad the chief magistrate resided. This arrangement was a continuation of the old order of things under Adam Kok, and was in accordance with the recommendation of the commission of 1875, which had been appointed to inquire into the affairs of the territory. When Captain Blyth left, Mr. C. P. Watermeyer was appointed acting chief magistrate, and held office until the 25th of the following December.

The remainder of Nomansland, that is the territory between the Kenigha river and Tembuland, had at this time a population of about twenty-two thousand souls. In April 1875 Mr. Orpen resigned his appointment as British resident, and left the territory. His clerk, Mr. Frederick P. Gladwin, was then instructed to act until arrangements could be made for placing magistrates with the different clans that had been received as British subjects.

Already one such magistrate had been appointed, to the Gatberg, thereafter known as the district of Maclear, but he had accidentally lost his life. Mr. J. R. Thomson

was then selected, and assumed duty in November 1875, when the people of Lehana, Lebenya, and Zibi were first called upon to pay hut tax. These clans were then giving little or no trouble. In 1878 Lebenya and Zibi gave some assistance against the rebel Baputi under Morosi, and the Batlokua of Lehana were hardly less active, though on that occasion the chief himself was not as zealous as he might have been.

The next appointment was that of Mr. Matthew B. Shaw to the magistracy of the country occupied by Umhlonhlo's people, thereafter termed the district of Qumbu. Mr. Shaw assumed duty there in June 1876, and remained until July 1878, when he was succeeded by Mr. Hamilton Hope.

Mr. Gladwin had then only Umditshwa's people in the district of Tsolo to act with. In September 1877 Mr. A. R. Welsh was appointed magistrate with that chief, who had been giving considerable trouble. He was exceedingly jealous of any interference with his people, but was submissive enough in the presence of a force able to chastise him. This was shown in an almost ludicrous manner on one occasion, when a strong body of police happened to be near by in Tembuland. In 1878 he furnished a contingent of eight hundred men to assist against Stokwé, son of Tshali, but this was when Stokwé's cause was seen to be hopeless.

These three districts, Maclear, Qumbu, and Tsolo, were not subject to the authority of the chief magistrate of Griqualand East until the close of 1878, when the consolidation of the different territories took place. Prior to that date each of the magistrates corresponded directly with the secretary for native affairs, and received instructions from him. But upon the appointment of the honourable Charles Brownlee, who assumed duty as chief magistrate on the 25th of December 1878, the seven districts were united, and the title of Griqualand East was extended to the whole territory.

Thereafter the district of Kokstad was provided with a magistrate, so as to leave the head of the territory free to attend to more important matters than adjudicating in petty cases. Mr. George W. Hawthorn was appointed, and assumed duty on the 1st of January 1879.

To this period the government had been acting in Griqualand East without any other authority from parliament than the allowance of the excess of expense incurred over revenue received. In 1873 the honourable Charles Brownlee, then secretary for native affairs, in a report upon his arrangement of terms of peace between Kreli and Gangelizwe, recommended the extension of colonial authority over the country ceded by Faku. This report was submitted to parliament, and a committee of the house of assembly was appointed to consider it, but did not conclude its labours before parliament was prorogued.

In 1875 the subject was brought by the ministry before parliament, and a resolution was adopted by both houses declaring that it was "expedient that the country situated between the Umtata and the Umzimkulu, commonly known as Nomansland, should be annexed to this colony, and that the government take such preliminary steps as may place it in a position to effect such annexation." On the 30th of June in this year the governor in his prorogation speech announced that her Majesty's concurrence in the annexation of Nomansland had already been officially notified to him. In June 1876 letters patent were issued at Westminster, empowering the governor to proclaim the territory annexed to the Cape Colony, after the legislature had passed the requisite act. In 1877 an annexation act was passed by the Cape parliament, and on the 17th of September 1879 the measure was completed by the issue of the governor's proclamation, to have force from the first of the following month.

The seven districts comprised in the chief magistracy of Griqualand East thus became part of the Cape

Colony, but as their inhabitants were barbarians who could not be admitted to the full privileges or perform the whole duties of burghers, they were made subject to special legislation by the governor with the advice of the executive council. The proclamation of the 17th of September 1879 provided that all the laws then in force in the Cape Colony should become the laws of Griqualand East, except in so far as they should be modified by certain regulations published at the same time. The territory was not represented in the Cape parliament, nor were acts of parliament passed after September 1879 in force there unless expressly extended to it in the acts themselves or by proclamation of the governor in council.

The district of Idutywa and Fingoland, comprising the three districts of Tsomo, Ngamakwe, and Butterworth, were annexed to the Cape Colony at the same time and by exactly the same routine of obtaining the sanction of the imperial authorities.

Under Captain Blyth's able management the Fingos living in the territory between the Kei and Bashee rivers given to them by Sir Philip Wodehouse, having no hereditary chiefs of high rank over them, were making great strides in prosperity, and order was well maintained among them. They had already laid a tax upon themselves of £1,500 towards the establishment of the industrial institution Blythswood in connection with the mission of the free church of Scotland, which amount they subsequently increased to £4,500. In 1874 they and the people of the adjoining district of Idutywa of their own free will began to pay a hut tax of ten shillings a year to cover the cost of the administration by Europeans, though it was not yet legally established. In 1875 the ministry brought before the Cape parliament the question of the annexation of these territories, and the same proceedings were followed with regard to them as have been related concerning Griqualand East.

In March 1876 Captain Blyth was removed to Kokstad, and Mr. James Ayliff was placed in charge of Fingo-land, with the title of chief magistrate. In September 1877 Mr. T. P. Pattle was stationed at Butterworth as assistant magistrate, and in October of the same year Mr. F. P. Gladwin was stationed at Tsomo in the same capacity. Nqamakwe was not provided with a magistrate at this time. In February 1878 Mr. T. R. Merriman was appointed magistrate of Idutywa.

In 1875 the Tembu tribe was brought into a condition of great difficulty by the conduct of its chief. Among his concubines there was a Galeka woman, an illegitimate niece of Kreli, who had accompanied the great wife as an attendant when she went to Tembuland, and remained there ever since. Gangelizwe in a fit of passion inflicted very severe injuries upon this woman, and two days later ordered a young man named Ndevu to break her skull with a kerie. The murder was committed on the 25th of July 1875. On the 27th the chief's messenger reported at the residency that the woman had been four days ill with headache and pain in the side. On the 29th Mr. William Wright, who in May 1873 had succeeded Mr. Chalmers as resident with Gangelizwe, was informed that she had died. For some months previous to the murder it was known that the woman was undergoing brutal treatment, and once it was rumoured that she was dead. Kreli then sent messengers to request that she might be allowed to visit her relatives, but the resident could not induce Gangelizwe either to consent to this or to permit the messengers to see her.

Gangelizwe's residence, where the murder was committed, was in the neighbourhood of the ground occupied by the Fingo chief Menziwe, who was a Tembu vassal. That chief, apprehending that war with the Galekas would be the immediate consequence, declared publicly that he would remain neutral. This declaration so

irritated Gangelizwe that he prepared to attack Menziwe, who thereupon fled with his people to Idutywa and asked for protection from Mr. J. H. Garner, who during Mr. Cumming's absence was acting there as superintendent. On the 5th of August Menziwe's women and cattle crossed the Bashee into Idutywa, and were followed by the warriors of the clan, six hundred in number, who were pursued to the river's edge by a Tembu army.

Kreli was induced on this occasion, as at the time of his daughter's ill treatment, to refer the matter to the Cape government, and the residents with the two chiefs, Messrs. J. Ayliff and W. Wright, were instructed to hold an investigation. The inquiry took place at Idutywa, in the presence of four representatives sent by each of the chiefs. Umbande, son of Menziwe, who had been one of Gangelizwe's most confidential advisers, was the principal witness. After taking evidence, Messrs. Ayliff and Wright found there was no doubt of Gangelizwe's guilt, whereupon the governor inflicted upon him a fine of two hundred head of cattle and £100 in money.

If the murdered woman had been a Tembu probably nothing more would have been heard of the matter. But she was a Galeka, and the people of her tribe, who were not satisfied with Gangelizwe's punishment which they thought should have been much heavier, seemed resolved to avenge her death. Commandant Bowker was therefore instructed to enter Tembuland with a strong body of the frontier armed and mounted police, reinstate Menziwe, the Fingo chief whom Gangelizwe had driven away, and prevent hostilities by the Galekas. On the 14th of September the police crossed the Bashee for this purpose with Menziwe's clan.

Gangelizwe and his subordinate chiefs then did as they had done once before in a time of difficulty: they offered to place their country and their tribe under the control of the Cape government. On the 28th of

October 1875 the terms of the cession, as drawn up in writing by the reverend Peter Hargreaves on behalf of the Tembus, were discussed with Commandant Bowker and Mr. Wright at a meeting held at Clarkebury, at which all the chiefs of note in Tembuland Proper, except Dalasilé, head of the Kwati clan, were present.

The Tembus proposed that Gangelizwe and fourteen heads of clans, who were named, should be recognised by the colonial government as chiefs, and that salaries, the amounts of which were mentioned, should be paid to them; that hut tax should not be payable until 1878; that the boundaries of the country should remain as previously fixed; that the chiefs should retain judicial authority over their people, except in cases of certain specified crimes, and subject to appeal to magistrates; that the government of the mission stations should not be interfered with; that the Fingo chief Menziwe should be removed to a locality which was named; and that the sale of spirituous liquors to black people should be prohibited. These proposals were forwarded to the governor, and were agreed to, with the sole exception that Gangelizwe could not be recognised as a chief, though a salary of £200 would be paid to him yearly.

On the 10th of December another meeting of the chiefs and people took place at Emjanyana, when Commandant Bowker announced officially that the country and people had been taken over on the above terms, and that Mr. S. A. Probart would shortly be sent as a special commissioner to conclude the arrangements. At this meeting proposals were made on behalf of Dalasilé to come under the Cape government, and were agreed to by Commandant Bowker.

The conditions were that his people should not be mixed with others, but should have a separate magistrate; that he should receive a salary of £100 a year; and a few others similar to those under which Gangelizwe's immediate adherents were taken over.

A few days later Mr. Probart, who was then a member of the house of assembly, arrived in Tembuland. On the 24th of December he announced at a great meeting at Emjanyana that the government had ratified everything that Commandant Bowker had done. The conditions of the cession, as proposed by the Tembu chiefs, were agreed to, except that Gangelizwe must be deprived of all authority; but the commissioner added that it would depend upon the manner in which he should conduct himself whether at some future time he might not be entrusted by the government with power in his own section of the tribe. Dalasilé was not present at this meeting, but on the 31st Mr. Probart met him at All Saints mission, informed him that the agreement made between him and Commandant Bowker was ratified, and asked him if he and his people were still of the same mind as to coming under the Cape government. Dalasilé requested to be allowed an hour for consideration. After consultation with his counsellors, he then explained that what he desired was that he should come under the government himself, but retain the sole control of his people. All complaints, he thought, should be made to him, and the magistrate should have only joint power of settlement. Mr. Probart explained that this was not the meaning of the conditions agreed to, and after some argument Dalasilé promised to adhere to his original proposals. That from the very first, however, this chief had no real intention of surrendering any authority over the people of his clan is shown by the circumstance that he never drew the salary to which he was entitled under the conditions of cession.

In this manner Tembuland Proper became a portion of the British dominions. The special commissioner submitted proposals to the government for the division of the territory into judicial districts, which were acted upon at once, and in 1876 the magistracies of Emjanyana, Engcobo, Umtata, and Mqanduli were created.

In the first of these, Emjanyana, was the residence of the former agent, Mr. Wright, and he was left there as magistrate with the additional title and authority of chief magistrate of Tembuland Proper.

In the second, Engcobo, was the site selected for the office of the magistrate with Dalasilé's people. In April 1876 Mr. Walter E. Stanford was stationed there as magistrate.

In the third, Umtata, the seat of magistracy quickly became the most important town in the whole territory between the Kei and Natal. Major J. F. Boyes assumed duty there as magistrate in April 1876.

The fourth district, Mqanduli, bordered on the coast. In August 1876 the reverend John H. Scott, previously a Wesleyan missionary, was stationed there as magistrate.

The few European farmers in the territory remained on the same conditions as before, except that they were required to pay the annual rent to the Cape government instead of to Gangelizwe.

It was soon discovered that the power of Gangelizwe could not easily be set aside. The European government, the magistrates, and some of the alien clans might ignore him, but the clans of pure Tembu blood would not. All their national traditions, their ideas of patriotism, their feelings of pride, prompted them to be loyal to him. Stronger still than any of these motives was their religion. The belief of the Bantu is firm that the spirits of the dead chiefs hold the destinies of the tribes in their keeping. To renounce allegiance to the chief, the descendant and representative of those to whose spirits they offer sacrifices and whose wrath they dread as the greatest calamity that can overtake them, is in the Bantu way of thinking the most enormous of crimes. The magistrates encountered such difficulties in governing the people, owing to their sullen demeanour and continual complaints of the degradation to which their

chief was subjected, that at the close of 1876 it was considered necessary to restore Gangelizwe to his former rank and to treat him as the highest Bantu official in the country.

Several years elapsed before the four districts of Tembuland Proper were formally annexed to the Cape Colony in the same way as the eleven previously mentioned, but they were treated in exactly the same manner, and the same laws and regulations were applied to them all.

In August 1877, when the outbreak of the war took place, an account of which will be given in the next chapter, the greater part of the territory between the river Kei and Natal had thus been brought under the government of the Cape Colony, only Emigrant Tembuland, Galekaland, Bomvanaland, the Xesibe district, and Pondoland remaining independent.

On the 31st of March 1877 Sir Henry Barkly was succeeded as governor of the Cape Colony and high commissioner for South Africa by the right honourable Sir Bartle Edward Frere. The new governor was a man of great talents, and in India had performed eminent service to the empire, so that the colonists felt flattered by his appointment. He had been selected by Lord Carnarvon on account of the suavity of his manners, as well as his universally acknowledged abilities, to carry out the project of confederation, which was a favourite idea of the English ministry. At Lord Carnarvon's instance an act had been passed by the imperial parliament to enable the colonies and states of South Africa to unite under one government and legislature, for he had not yet realised that the condition of things at the time made such union impossible. The task allotted to Sir Bartle Frere was one that no man who ever lived could accomplish, and it does not detract in the least from his reputation that he failed to carry it out.

One of his first acts in the colony was the opening on the 5th of April of an international exhibition in Capetown, which was due to the enterprise of an Italian, Signor Cagli. The building was erected in the garden of the masonic lodge De Goede Hoop, and was constructed of wood, galvanised iron, and glass. It was one hundred and eighty-four feet long, seventy-eight feet wide, and fifty-six feet high. The show of South African products was decidedly poor, the best exhibit being some furniture made at Lovedale; but European manufacturers sent farm machinery, steam engines, and many other articles in great variety, so that the exhibition served a very useful purpose. The building itself, which was afterwards used as an assembly hall and a theatre, was the cause of a big disaster. On Sunday the 21st of February 1892 it caught fire, and being like matchwood burnt with great rapidity. The nearest buildings,—the lodge De Goede Hoop and the office of the native affairs department,—though their walls were unusually solid, were soon alight, and were utterly destroyed.

On the 1st of January 1876 the Cape Copper Mining Company's line of railway from Port Nolloth was completed to Ookiep, where the richest mine in Little Namaqualand was being worked. The district is so secluded, however, that this event had no effect on the remainder of the colony.

It was very different with the lines being constructed by the government, which were already beginning to facilitate intercourse between the interior and the sea-ports. On the 1st of May 1877 the line from East London was opened to King-Williamstown, and on the 12th of November of the same year the branch of the western line was completed and opened to Malmesbury. By the close of 1877 the heavy work and tunnels in the Hex River kloof had been completed, and the main western line had reached Matjesfontein, deep in the karoo. The midland line was advancing rapidly from

Port Elizabeth towards Graaff-Reinet, and the line from the Bushman's river to Grahamstown—provided for by parliament in July 1876—was making good progress.

In the session of 1877—25th May to 8th August—provision was made by the Cape parliament for the construction of a massive bridge over the Kei river, on the main road leading from King-Williamstown to Umtata, and the work was commenced immediately. Provision was also made for the construction of a line of telegraph from Komgha by way of Umtata and Kokstad to Maritzburg in Natal, and this was also taken in hand without delay. An important act of this session was one to promote irrigation by farmers, and thus to increase the productive power of the country.

Three new magisterial districts were created on the eastern border at this time. In February 1877 a magistrate was stationed at Cathcart, in November of the same year one was stationed at Stutterheim, and in December one was stationed at Komgha.

Owing to the war with the Xosas, it became necessary at the close of 1877 to send instructions to the emigration agent in London not to give free passages to more people than those already engaged, until the restoration of tranquillity. Since November 1873 he had then sent out five thousand five hundred and fifty-three men, but only eight hundred and twenty women and nine hundred and sixty-six children. Owing to the disproportion of the sexes, many of the men returned to Europe as soon as the engagements expired that they had entered into before coming out, still the colony was a considerable gainer.

CHAPTER III.

THE NINTH KAFFIR WAR.

THE district which was restored to Kreli in 1864, and thereafter termed Galekaland, embraced the territory between the Kei and Bashee rivers, from Fingoland and Idutywa to the sea. Owing to the policy of the British authorities that had been in force for many years, to contract the realm abroad as much as possible in order to avoid responsibility,—a policy now happily almost entirely reversed,—more than by the choice of their chief, the Galekas remained independent, and the colonial officer stationed with them merely performed duties similar to those of a consul, without interfering in any way with their government. In May 1873 Mr. William Fynn was succeeded as resident with Kreli by Mr. James Ayliff, who was transferred to Fingoland in March 1876. The clerk, Mr. West Fynn, then acted as resident until November 1876, when Colonel John T. Eustace received the appointment.

At the time when Colonel Eustace became resident with Kreli there was a general feeling of uneasiness throughout the eastern frontier districts of the Cape Colony. The Rarabe clans of the Xosa tribe had been arming, they were stealing from the farmers on an unprecedented scale, and their tone and bearing indicated that a collision might easily take place.

Kreli at that time had some twelve thousand warriors at his command, without counting those of the kindred Rarabe clans west of the Kei, who, though they were British subjects, still venerated him as their head. Maki.

his former chief counsellor, a moderate and sensible man, whose weight was always on the side of quietness, had been accused of being a sorcerer, and had been compelled to flee for safety to Idutywa, where he placed himself under British protection. His post was then filled by Ngubo, the head of an important clan and a near relative of the paramount chief, whose strongest feeling was one of bitter hostility to the white man. The Galeka section of the Xosa tribe, living east of the Kei, had increased until the territory, which in 1864 was more than ample for all its requirements, was considered by it too small, and not unnaturally covetous eyes were cast over the Fingo border to the land that in former years had been Galeka property and that was then occupied by the people whom they had once regarded as their dogs. On their side the Fingos were never tired of taunting the Galekas by reminding them of the changed condition of the two peoples since 1834, so that the old animosity was kept up, and instances of friendly intercourse were rare.

A circumstance which weakened the Galekas was the very bad feeling that then existed between Kreli and his cousin Mapasa, a chief of high rank and considerable power. Mapasa was the great son of Buku, who was son and heir to the right hand house of Kawuta. In such a condition of things the least rumour, however unfounded, is capable of causing alarm among a people so unprotected as the colonists of the frontier districts then were. The panic of 1876 indeed passed away, but a general sense of insecurity remained.

On the 3rd of August 1877 there was a marriage feast at a Fingo kraal just within the boundary separating their district from Galekaland, and two petty chiefs of Mapasa's clan, by name Umxoli and Fihla, with nine or ten attendants crossed over to partake in the festivities. On such occasions custom demands that every one of superior or equal rank that presents himself is to be

made welcome. Usually too there is a combat between young men desirous of displaying their prowess before the company, and hard blows from keries are given and taken without loss of temper. A young man covered with welts would be disgraced by complaining, instead of doing so he puts on a smiling face and says he never had such fun in his life before. But it was very different at this marriage feast in Fingoland in August 1877. Late in the evening, when all were excited by dancing and beer drinking, a quarrel arose, no one was afterwards able to tell exactly how or why, and even the evidence as to what followed is most conflicting. At any rate the Galekas were ranged on one side and the Fingos, who greatly outnumbered them, on the other, and they used their keries so freely that one Galeka was killed and the two chiefs were badly bruised. The visitors were then driven over the border to their own kraals.

Three days later four large parties of Mapasa's Galekas, who had in the meantime mustered with the intention of avenging the insult offered to their friends, crossed the little stream that formed the boundary of Fingoland, and swept off the stock belonging to several kraals along the line, consisting of one hundred and forty head of horned cattle and six hundred sheep and goats. Colonel Eustace was absent at the time, but his clerk, Mr. West Fynn, on hearing what had occurred, proceeded immediately to the border, which was only about eight miles or thirteen kilometres from the residency, and pointed out to the Galekas that they were doing wrong. Mapasa, whose retainers the raiders were, admitted that they were in fault, and promised that the captured cattle should be restored, which, however, was only partly carried into effect. As always happens in such cases, some of the animals that were seized had been slaughtered at once and eaten, others had strayed away and could not be found, and no one was willing to

make good the number deficient after those that were left were delivered to their owners.

Kreli was then appealed to, who threw the whole blame of the occurrence upon Mapasa, and ordered the full restoration of the captured stock of the Fingos, but took no steps to enforce his order. Possibly he was unable to do so, for passion was running so high on both sides that no order, not given by him directly in person, was likely to be obeyed. Mr. Ayliff, the representative of the government with the Fingos, had by this time arrived at the scene of the disturbance, and was doing his utmost to restore order, but could accomplish little more than restraining the people under his charge from massing in a body with arms in their hands ready for war.

A number of petty acts of hostility now took place, one party being to blame as much as the other, though each man endeavoured to screen himself before the British officials. Upon the whole, however, it was easier to obtain redress for misconduct from the Fingos than from the Galekas, because they were directly subject to the control of magistrates.

Information of the condition of affairs was sent by telegraph to Capetown, when Colonel Eustace was directed to demand from Kreli complete restoration of the stock seized by the Galekas, and he and Mr. Ayliff were instructed to make a close inquiry into the origin of the disturbance. One hundred and fifty men of the frontier armed and mounted police were sent across the Kei to guard the Fingo border and prevent raids from either side, and Mr. Brownlee, the secretary for native affairs, prepared to visit the Transkei and endeavour to arrange matters peaceably.

Owing to the events in Natal and in the Transvaal, that will be related in succeeding chapters, the number of British soldiers in South Africa at this time was unusually large. In January 1875 the first battalions of

the thirteenth and twenty-fourth regiments arrived to relieve the seventy-fifth and eighty-sixth, which in February left to return home. In November 1876 the second battalion of the third regiment (known as the Buffs) arrived. It came out in a chartered transport named the *Saint Lawrence*, which was wrecked on the 9th of November on Paternoster Point, about ninety miles or one hundred and forty kilometres north of Table Bay. Fortunately no lives were lost, and on tidings of the disaster reaching the naval authorities in Simonstown some men-of-war were sent to the scene of the wreck and brought the regiment to Capetown. In March and April 1877 the eightieth regiment arrived from Singapore. The third and the eightieth were intended to relieve the thirteenth and the twenty-fourth, but owing to the condition of affairs in Natal and the Transvaal, these regiments were retained here for a time instead of being sent home. In July 1877 the eighty-eighth regiment arrived from Ireland, and in August the wing of the thirty-second left for England. There were thus five full battalions in South Africa at the time. The eighty-eighth, 760 strong, was in Capetown, the thirteenth, 805 strong, was in the Transvaal, the eightieth, 930 strong, and the third, 563 strong, were in Natal, and the twenty-fourth, 872 strong, was stationed in King-Williamstown to be ready for emergencies and to prevent the spread of uneasiness that was prevalent among the farmers in that neighbourhood. There were also scattered about in the command some two hundred artillerymen and engineers, making four thousand one hundred and thirty officers and men of the imperial forces in this country.

On the night of the 24th of August a band of Galekas crossed the border into Fingoland, and an encounter took place close to Butterworth, when twenty-four Galekas and several Fingos were killed. Colonel Eustace, Mr. Ayliff, and Inspector Chalmers were

endeavouring to induce both sides to disperse, but could not prevent skirmishing and loss of life.

On the 18th of August Sir Bartle Frere, accompanied by Mr. J. X. Merriman, commissioner of crown lands and public works, left Capetown to visit the frontier districts, and ascertain by personal observation the condition of things there. He expected to be absent from the seat of government only a few weeks, but it was many months before he saw his family again. On the 4th of September he arrived in King-Williamstown, and found that place so crowded with families of farmers that had fled there for protection, owing to the apprehension of a general rising of the Rarabe clans, that the only accommodation he could get for himself and his attendants was in the military barracks. Matters were becoming worse and worse over the Kei, so the first battalion of the twenty-fourth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel R. T. Glynn, was dispersed at different points on the western side of the river, to prevent a raid by the Galekas into the colony. A message was then sent to Kreli that the government would hold him responsible for any breach of the peace, and expected him to cause his people to refrain from acts of lawlessness.

At this critical time Commandant James Henry Bowker, who for more than seven years had been head of the frontier armed and mounted police, was obliged by ill health to resign, and in all haste Mr. Charles Duncan Griffith, who was then governor's agent in Basutoland, was sent for to succeed him, as being the officer of most experience in the force.

The governor now resolved to proceed to the Transkei, and endeavour to restore tranquillity by his presence, as among Bantu a great chief can often effect wonders by his word alone. On the 15th of September, accompanied by the honourable Messrs. Merriman and Brownlee, Lieutenant-Colonel Glynn, the honourable W. Littleton, his private

secretary, and Lieutenant Hodson, acting aide-de-camp, he reached Butterworth, where Colonel Eustace, Mr. Ayliff, Inspector Chalmers, several other Europeans, two of Kreli's principal counsellors, who were subsequently joined by two of the chief's own sons, two of his nephews, and several other counsellors, and a great number of Fingos had assembled to meet him. The Fingos all declared their perfect loyalty, and promised to obey implicitly any orders he might choose to give them. He then sent a friendly message to Kreli, inviting that chief to meet him and discuss matters, so as to restore order and harmony. Kreli, however, shrank from meeting the governor, though he said, and probably with truth, that he was very anxious for peace. It was believed that he feared the fate of his father Hintsä if he should present himself, but probably the excitement of his warriors, who were entirely under the influence of his son Sigcawu and of his counsellor Ngubo, was then so great that he could not do anything in direct opposition to their wishes, and they would have regarded his going to meet the governor with the utmost disfavour. They were prepared to lay down their lives for him, but then they expected him to act with what they held to be the dignity of an independent chief, and not go like a hound because a white man called him.

Mr. Brownlee, who was very well acquainted with him personally, then rode over to his residence, and remained overnight there in Colonel Eustace's quarters, but the chief declined the invitation to meet him. Nothing further could be done to bring about an interview, so after a stay of four days at Butterworth the governor returned to King-Williamstown.

The district of Idutywa was found to be in a condition of utter lawlessness. Its population was more mixed than that of any other district in Kaffraria, and each of the little clans was opposed to all the others. Mr. Cumming had no control over any of them, so he

retired from his unpleasant post, and Inspector Chalmers, who was in command of the police camp at Ibeka in the south-western angle of the district, with Fingoland close by on one side and Galekaland equally near on the other, was instructed to perform the additional duty of magistrate.

On the 23rd of September, on account of Kreli's plain declaration to Colonel Eustace that he was unable to restrain his warriors from attacking the Fingos, though he hoped to preserve peace with the white people, the resident withdrew to the police station at Ibeka, and further negotiation was abandoned. The traders in the country and the missionaries were warned that they should withdraw to places of safety without further delay, and all of them except Mr. John Barnett at Ibeka, where the police camp was, did so.

Two days later notice was given to the farmers west of the Kei that military posts had been established for their protection at Komgha, Impetu, the Kei mouth, and two other places. Beyond the Kei police posts were formed at Toleni and Idutywa, which with the one at Ibeka would serve the same purpose. All the Bantu labourers engaged on the bridge over the Kei had deserted, but the European workmen were still there, and they were now supplied with arms and a position impregnable to barbarians without cannon was formed. The railway from East London was open as far as the Kabusi river, and the stations and platelayers' cottages along it had been constructed with a view of being used for defensive purposes, so that there was no lack of places of protection. There was now no longer a doubt that war had commenced, and Kreli acknowledged it in a chivalrous manner by sending some of his own sons and three hundred warriors to escort Mr. West Fynn with his family and the missionaries in his country, the reverend Messrs. Dewar and Leslie, with theirs, to a place of safety.

Mapasa, with whose people the war originated, at this stage abandoned the cause of his tribe, crossed the Kei hurriedly, and asked the colonial government for protection. A portion of his clan followed him, but many of his best warriors, led by his nephew Kiva, a daring and very popular chieftain, joined Kreli's army. Those who adhered to Mapasa were sent to reside temporarily on some vacant land west of the Kei, where it was found that they numbered four thousand three hundred and fifteen individuals of both sexes and all ages. Mapasa had with him five thousand four hundred head of horned cattle, but of these he was required to deliver five hundred to make good the damage his people had done to the Fingos. A European officer was stationed with him, and his people gave no trouble.

To this time the Galekas had constantly asserted that they were making war upon the Fingos only, and had no wish to molest Europeans, but on the 26th of September an army five thousand strong crossed the border and had an encounter with the mounted police under Inspector Chalmers at Gwadana a few miles east of Ibeka in the Idutywa district. Mr. Chalmers had eighty European police and fifteen hundred Fingos with him. The police were men of a different stamp from those who had done such excellent service under Sir Walter Currie in earlier days. They were mainly boys recruited in England, and were without that experience in riding and shooting and skirmishing with Kaffirs that the young colonists of the former force invariably had. As far as education from books was concerned they were decidedly superior, but they were ignorant of all the devices necessary in South African warfare for maintaining their horses and themselves in good condition. Eighty of Sir Walter Currie's men would have faced a Galeka army with almost a certainty of success, but eighty of the as yet untrained lads who had taken their places could not be regarded as a force of much

strength. The carriage of Inspector Chalmers' only field-gun broke down, when the Fingos dispersed, and he was obliged to fall back to his camp at Ibeka. Sub-Inspector Von Hohenan and six privates fell in this action, and it was believed that about two hundred Galekas were killed.

On the 27th of September the residency at Idutywa was abandoned, when the traders and missionaries in the district retired to Blythswood, the industrial institution of the free church of Scotland near Ngamakwe, in Fingoland. On the 29th the police camp at Ibeka, where Commandant Griffith was then in command of one hundred and eighty Europeans and two thousand Fingos, was attacked by a Galeka army variously estimated from seven to ten thousand strong. On this occasion three seven-pounder guns were brought into action, and caused great loss of life when directed upon dense masses of the assailants. A girl who was believed to have communication with the spirit world had directed them not to attack in loose formation, but in masses close together, and they carried out her instructions, for she assured them of victory if they would do so. The battle commenced at three o'clock in the afternoon, and the Galekas, though often stunned by the cannon fire and the discharge of the snider rifles of the police, rushed on again and again from different directions. It was getting dusk when the seer was struck by a ball and fell dead, and then the courage of the warriors failed them. The Fingos, in two bands gallantly led by Sub-Inspector Allan Maclean and the headman Veldman, charged, and the Galekas retired from the field. Their loss had been very heavy, but only six Fingos were killed, and one white man and six Fingos were wounded.

The Galekas, however, were not altogether discomfited, and at daybreak the next morning, the 30th of September, they attacked again from another direction. On this

occasion they were less persevering, for on the Fingos under Allan Maclean, supported by sixty of the mounted police, advancing to meet them, they turned and fled. They were pursued for half an hour, and several were killed.

A little later reinforcements of police and volunteers from different parts of the colony began to arrive, and before the end of the first week in October Colonel Griffith found himself in command of five hundred and eighty mounted policemen, six hundred and twenty volunteer cavalry, and three hundred and seventy volunteer infantry. On the 3rd of October Major Elliot arrived with a Tembu contingent, and a large Fingo force under Mr. James Ayliff was also in the field.

In August 1877 Major Henry G. Elliot succeeded Mr. Wright as chief magistrate of Tembuland Proper, and when war with the Galekas commenced, he called upon the people under his charge to take up arms for the government. In the district of Mganduli the magistrate, Mr. Scott, succeeded in raising a force of some strength, but in the other districts there was no response to the call. Not a single individual of any clan under Dalasilé came forward to aid the government. Stokwé, son of Tshali, who resided in Maxongo's Hoek at the base of the Drakensberg, joined the enemy. He was the head of a small alien clan called the Amavundlé, and had not many fighting men, so that his defection was a matter of little importance. All the rest of the tribe waited for the word of Gangelizwe. Fortunately that chief had sufficient sagacity to see that an opportunity had occurred for him to secure the favour of the government. He declared himself a loyal subject of the queen, and took the field with Major Elliot. At once, as if by magic, the attitude of the people changed. From all sides they came in to join their chief, and thereafter rendered valuable assistance. Dalasilé was fined a hundred head of cattle for not complying with the

orders of the chief magistrate, and finding himself exposed to Gangelizwe's resentment if he did not pay, he submitted without giving trouble.

On the 5th of October, while preparations for an advance into Galekaland were being made, a proclamation was issued by Governor Sir Bartle Frere, in which Kreli was declared to be deposed from all power and authority as a chief. This meant that the European government would no longer treat him as a potentate, but would regard him merely as an ordinary Kaffir. But as far as his own Galekas, or indeed any members of the Bantu family east or west of the Kei, were concerned, such a proclamation was without meaning. In their opinion no power but death could deprive him of the right to which he was born, and so the notice had no effect upon them. But, notwithstanding this, it was a most important measure. By it Kreli's country was taken from him and was reserved for disposal as the queen should direct, and pending instructions from the imperial authorities, it was to be ruled directly by officers appointed by the government of the Cape Colony. This proclamation was approved of by the secretary of state for the colonies in a despatch of the 14th of November following, and was the basis upon which the administration of Galekaland for several years rested.

The war had burst suddenly upon the government, and found the country unprepared for it. There was no system in force for providing supplies of food for combatants in the field, or for transport, or for the control of volunteers. The frontier armed and mounted police, about eleven hundred strong, was the only force ready for action at the disposal of the ministry, and it was quite insufficient to do all the work required. The old burgher organisation was no longer adapted to the needs of the time.

Under these circumstances it was fortunate that there was a British regiment of the line on the frontier to

guard various positions of protection, and that the governor himself, two members of the ministry, and the general commanding the imperial troops happened all to be in King-Williamstown, the base of operations, where they could devise and carry out the best measures possible. It was arranged that Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Cunynghame should have command of the frontier armed and mounted police, the volunteers, the burghers, and the coloured levies, as well as of the imperial troops, in order to secure uniformity of action; that Lieutenant-Colonel R. T. Glynn, of the first battalion of the twenty-fourth regiment, should have direct command of the forces west of the Kei, and that Commandant—now styled Colonel—Griffith should have direct command of all the forces operating in the country east of the Kei. This meant that Colonel Griffith was to direct his reports to General Cunynghame, from whom he would receive intimations, but the colonial forces would be entirely under his command.

Mounted volunteers were to receive five shillings a day with rations for themselves and their horses, footmen four shillings a day with rations, and officers according to their rank. They were also to have prize money when cattle were captured.

Colonel Griffith stationed Major Elliot at Idutywa with full magisterial power in that district, and with him were three thousand Tembus under Gangelizwe to support his authority and defend the district in case it should be again invaded by the Galekas. They lived largely upon maize taken from the store pits of the enemy, so that their maintenance cost but little.

On the 9th of October Colonel Griffith surprised Kreli's great place and burnt it, together with the kraals of Sigcawu and many others. Sigcawu was Kreli's son of highest rank, and was one of the leaders of the war party. He was not a man of great intelligence, but was regarded by his people as being a skilful strategist, and

had his name (meaning the great spider) given to him from his plan of attack in an engagement with the Tembus in October 1872. The destruction of his kraal was the first reverse he ever sustained.

Colonel Griffith's plan of operations was that from each of his posts a party should march, and all join at the great place, as the residence of an important chief is termed. It was a little over six miles or about ten kilometres from Ibeka. At daybreak he left the camp with two troops of the mounted police, under Inspector David Hook, two field guns, under Captain Robinson, and a body of King-Williamstown burghers under Commandant Bertram Bowker. Large bands of Fingos marched at the same time from three points under Messrs. James Ayliff, Allan Maclean, and F. Pattle. The Gonubi volunteers under Captain George Grey and the Maclean volunteers under Captain Howard Sprigg marched from the Springs, and some mounted police under Inspector Bailie, a body of Queenstown burghers under Captain George Hay, and a Tembu contingent under Major Elliot advanced from Idutywa. Captain Grey's volunteers, ninety in number, when in a rugged part of the country were drawn into an ambushade, and found themselves surrounded by the enemy in great force, whose design was to close in upon them. In this emergency the little band acted with the greatest bravery, and by the accuracy of its fire kept the Galekas at a distance and fought its way out with only two men wounded. Colonel Griffith reached Kreli's kraal soon after sunrise, and found a strong force of Galekas there, who were taken completely by surprise. The artillery opened fire upon the kraal, and when the enemy was thrown into confusion, the Fingos under Allan and Alexander Maclean rushed forward and took the place. While these operations were in progress, other parties were advancing to the neighbouring kraals, many of which were defended with much obstinacy, but all were

eventually taken. Colonel Griffith reported that several ploughs and "a vast quantity of miscellaneous loot" fell to the share of the Fingos, great quantities of maize and millet were found, and twenty horses were captured. His only casualties were two volunteers wounded, while over a hundred Galekas were killed. All the kraals were given to the flames, with everything in them that could not be carried away as booty.

On the 3rd of October the *Active*, under command of Commodore F. W. Sullivan, the senior naval officer on the station, arrived at East London, with nine officers and two hundred and seventeen men of the eighty-eighth regiment, under Major E. Hopton, and eight artillerymen, drawn from the garrison of Capetown to strengthen the posts west of the Kei. This was considered necessary to overawe the Rarabe clans, some of whom were believed to be in such strong sympathy with the Galekas that they would rise in rebellion in case the colonial forces under Colonel Griffith met with a defeat or even a check. For this reason many of the burghers and volunteers who were coming forward for service at the front were also detained west of the Kei.

It was a time of drought, which made it difficult to forward supplies of food and all other requisites for keeping forces in the field, so that Colonel Griffith had to consider how to do his work without running risks, with the fewest number of men possible. On the western side of the Kei the railway was of enormous advantage in this respect, and it was also of much service to the fighting forces by conveying everything that was needed from East London to the depôt at Kei Road.

On the 13th of October the prime minister, Mr. J. C. Molteno, arrived in King-Williamstown, which might now be considered the seat of government, as the governor, two members of the ministry, and the commander of the forces were all residing there. Mr. Molteno remained only a few days on this occasion.

Kreli at this time sent messengers to request that Colonel Eustace and Mr. Fynn might be sent back to live with him, and promising to carry out any decision of the governor regarding the quarrel between his people and the Fingos. But as he asserted at the same time that he could not control the war party, it would have been useless to try to come to any terms with him, and he was therefore informed that his proposal would not be considered. He was given assurances that if he would surrender his life would be spared and he would not be imprisoned for a long period, but of this he took no notice.

Colonel Griffith was informed by Mr. Merriman on behalf of the prime minister that subject to instructions from the imperial authorities it was intended to govern the country then occupied by the Galekas as an integral portion of her Majesty's South African dominions. Whatever settlement might be made of the land, the people as British subjects would be entitled to protection of person and property, and would be liable to provide by taxation for the expense of their government. With these conditions as a basis, he was instructed to disarm any of the common people who might surrender, and encourage them to resume peaceful avocations, protecting them from molestation by any one whatever as far as he possibly could. All who had taken no part in the war were to be treated in the same manner, but chieftainship was in no instance to be recognised. The cattle not distributed as prize when captured and the land of those engaged in hostilities were made liable to be sold to make good the cost of the war.

The aim of the colonial forces was therefore to break up the Galeka army, to destroy the kraals so that the fighting men could not rally again, and to capture the cattle in order to bring the people to submission.

To carry this out, Colonel Griffith formed his forces into three columns, and on the 18th of October directed

two of these to march from the camp at Ibeka in different directions towards the sea. One of them, commanded by himself in person, marched by way of Kentani hill to the mouth of the Kei, and then turned eastward to the source of the Lusizi streamlet just above the Manubi forest, where the other columns were directed to join it. It arrived there on the afternoon of the 22nd. The European section of this column and the artillery found little employment, but the Fingo auxiliaries under the headman Veldman were kept busy scouring the country along the line of march. No opposition whatever was encountered.

Attached to the head quarter column after the evening of the 19th was a body of Fingos under Mr. James Ayliff, who marched from the Springs that morning. They had some skirmishes with small parties of the enemy, of whom they killed forty, with casualties to themselves of four men wounded. They burned many huts, and captured one hundred and fifty head of horned cattle and five or six hundred sheep.

The second column was commanded by Inspector David Hook, of the frontier armed and mounted police. It consisted of two hundred and fifty-five Europeans and about two thousand Fingos, with one nine-pounder gun. It marched past Kreli's burnt kraal towards Mazeppa Bay, and on the 19th at nightfall reached the source of the Lusizi, where a camp was formed. The ruins of several traders' shops that had been burnt were passed, and some abandoned huts were set on fire, but no enemy was seen. The Fingos scoured the country on each side, and found abundance of maize in store pits. On the 21st two parties of Fingos were sent to the Manubi forest as scouts. They returned with about five hundred sheep and a number of women and children, and reported that the Galekas were not far off in great numbers and that there were many horses and horned cattle in the forest. At about two o'clock in the afternoon of

Sunday the 21st the Galekas in force attacked the camp, but after some sharp fighting were beaten off. In the engagement two Europeans, brothers named Goss, who were officers in the Fingo contingent, and nine Fingos were killed, and one European and twenty-one Fingos were wounded. Sixty-seven dead Galekas were counted on the field of battle, twenty or thirty muzzle-loader guns were picked up, and fifteen horses were captured.

The third column consisted of two hundred Europeans and about fifteen hundred Tembus, under Major H. G. Elliot, that left Idutywa on the morning of the 17th. As at Ibeka a strong force had to be left behind to guard the camp, and the column was formed of picked men. It marched to Toleni, scouring the country on the way, destroying the kraals, and scattering small parties of Galekas, of whom from forty to fifty were killed. The only casualties were four men wounded.

On the 30th of October, as the Galekas were known to be in great force near the coast towards the Bashee, Colonel Griffith proceeded with his army in that direction. It was formed into several columns, which marched sufficiently close to each other to be able to concentrate in case of necessity, but yet covered a wide extent of country from one extreme to the other. In front Fingo scouts were constantly examining the line of advance and bringing back reports, and between the columns the Tembus under Major Elliot and the Fingos under several leaders were scouring effectually, burning huts and collecting maize from the store pits. The drought had broken and rain was falling, on some days very heavily, and the Europeans were suffering great discomfort, especially as their transport waggons could not keep up with them, and on more than one occasion they were short of other food than flesh. They could not eat the maize from store pits, on account of its disagreeable taste, though the Fingos and Tembus enjoyed it and ate to their hearts' content.

Intelligence was continually brought back by the scouts that the Galekas with their women, children, and cattle were broken up in little parties, all of which were pushing eastward, and sometimes they were overtaken by rapid marching and large numbers of cattle were captured. They made very little resistance when attacked, and seemed as if panic stricken. It was believed that they would make a stand in the large forest on the right bank of the Bashee river near its mouth, but when that locality was reached, it was found that they were crossing over into Bomvanaland. It seemed indisputable to Colonel Griffith and the forces under his command that they were driving before them the whole Galeka people, who had lost all courage and all hope of successful resistance, and whose sole object was to get away and disperse among other tribes. Perhaps Sigcawu, that cunning spider, thought differently, but if he did, he took good care to give them no cause to suspect it.

On the 7th of November Colonel Griffith crossed the Bashee with five hundred and twenty-two Europeans, mostly volunteers, and entered Bomvanaland. He had two field guns with him. This column captured a good many cattle, shot about twenty Galekas, and disarmed a few who were made prisoners.

Another column, under Mr. James Ayliff, consisted of volunteers and Fingo auxiliaries, together five thousand one hundred men. Before it crossed the Bashee it came in touch with the enemy in the forest, and captured many oxen and a very large number of sheep and goats, which could not be driven forward as rapidly as the volunteers and Fingos could follow. It also made prisoners of some thousands of Galeka women and children. These were provided with food, and directed to return at once to their former homes, but instead of doing so, as soon as their captors were out of sight they resumed their journey eastward. Over forty Galekas were killed by this column, and it lost eight Fingos

killed and ten others wounded before it reached Bomvanaland.

A third large column of mixed Europeans and Tembus, under Major Elliot, crossed the Bashee on the 7th of November. It did not come into contact with the Galekas, however, so it is unnecessary to record its movements.

In Bomvanaland immense herds of cattle were seen, but as they were claimed by Moni's people they were not seized, though the colonial forces were morally certain that they belonged to the Galekas. Kreli's people could not be found: it was ascertained that they had broken up into little parties and had gone on towards the Umtata, but every one professed absolute ignorance as to where Kreli or his son Sigcawu was. Hundreds of the people questioned must have known, but no one would tell. All asserted they had never seen either, and did not believe one or the other had entered Bomvanaland.

Colonel Griffith then scoured the country to the Umtata, but found only a few stragglers here and there, so he came to believe that the Galekas were completely broken up as a people and that it would be unnecessary to keep the field any longer. With only a portion of his forces therefore he crossed the Umtata into Western Pondoland, where on the 15th of November he had an interview with the chiefs Nquiliso and Gwadiso. Nquiliso, son of Ndamasi, was the governing chief of Western Pondoland. He professed the utmost willingness to assist the colonial government in any way that he could, but did not know where Kreli and Sigcawu were, so could not surrender them. Gwadiso was the most powerful sub-chief, or head of a clan, in the district. He was in sympathy with the Galekas, if he was not actually in league with them, but seeing the force at Colonel Griffith's command he dissembled, and surrendered eleven hundred of Kreli's cattle that had

been entrusted to his care. Kreli and Sigcawu were reported to be in Eastern Pondoland, though this was regarded by the pursuing party as not at all certain.

Colonel Griffith now abandoned what he believed to be the pursuit of the fugitive Galekas. His horses were tired out, the Fingos and Tembus with him were footsore and disinclined to go farther, the weather was wet and inclement, the provisions were almost exhausted, and the country in advance was extremely rugged and could not be traversed by wheeled vehicles. There were no roads, and consequently supplies of food and ammunition could not be brought up. Under these circumstances Colonel Griffith authorised Nquliso to keep all the Galeka cattle that he could find, and then hurried back to Ibeka by forced marches. On the 19th of November at Mqanduli the volunteers and burghers of Albany, Fort Beaufort, Cradock, Tarkastad, Wodehouse, and Aliwal North, and Bowker's rovers were thanked for their services and were allowed to leave for their homes. The volunteers from Capetown, Port Elizabeth, and Grahamstown, not being mounted, had been left to assist in guarding the camps in the Transkei, and the Queens-town burghers and volunteers were retained by Colonel Griffith when the others left.

The belief was now general in the colony that the war beyond the Kei was over, and that the Galeka division of the Xosa tribe had ceased to exist as a community. About thirteen thousand head of horned cattle, a still greater number of sheep and goats, and several hundred horses had been taken from them, their kraals everywhere had been burnt, what ammunition they possessed at the beginning of the war it was assumed must all have been expended, and some seven hundred of their warriors had been killed. Kreli and Sigcawu were believed to be hiding in a forest in Eastern Pondoland, and their people in great distress

were supposed to be scattered over the country beyond the Umtata. A demand was made upon Umqikela, great son of Faku, to surrender the fugitive chiefs, and it was expected that they would soon be in custody.

The volunteers and burghers were received with much rejoicing as they passed through the villages and towns on their way back to their homes. It was believed that the punishment inflicted upon the Galekas would serve as a warning to the Rarabe clans, and probably prevent them from rising in open rebellion, though their conduct was such as to cause a great deal of uneasiness.

The mode of settlement of Galekaland was at once considered by the government. Arrangements were made for the return of Mapasa and his clan to their old home, and the administration of the affairs of the territory was confided to Colonel Eustace. All the common Galekas who would return and submit to his authority were as an act of grace to be permitted to settle there, and were to be protected against every one who might try to interfere with them. It was in contemplation to set apart about five hundred farms of three hundred acres each for occupation by Europeans, who were to pay £5 for cost of survey and £1 yearly as quitrent, and all the remainder of the territory was to be reserved for the Galekas who it was supposed would return, give up their arms, and agree to live under British rule.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NINTH KAFFIR WAR (*continued*).

THERE would have been general rejoicing when it was believed that the war with the Galekas had ended in a satisfactory manner, if it had not been that a revolt of the Rarabe clans west of the Kei seemed exceedingly probable. The chiefs when spoken to professed to be loyal, but cattle stealing was carried on by their people on a scale never known before except on the eve of a war, and they made no effort to prevent it. Few of the farmers in the frontier districts considered it prudent to remove their families from places of refuge, and of course all cultivation of the ground had ceased. Any trifling occurrence at a Kaffir kraal was sufficient to cause widespread alarm, and rumour magnified every movement of a chief into an act indicating an intention to rebel. On the 22nd of November all the Kaffirs at work on the railway deserted without giving notice, it was assumed because their chiefs had called them home to take part in war.

An event at this time, in connection with a Ndlambe clan, added much to the general anxiety.

The great son of the late chief Umhala was named Mackinnon. After the self-destruction of the clan in 1857 he wandered about for several years, but when land was given to Kreli between the Kei and the Bashee, he went to live there as a subject of the Galeka chief. One of his half-brothers, Smith by name, had been located by Major Gawler at Idutywa, and another half-brother, named Ndimba, took up his residence in the Gaika

location. Each of these had a few hundred retainers, but neither was a man of much importance. When the war broke out Mackinnon had some fifty or sixty families of Amandlambe under him, and more than that number of Galekas were nominally his retainers also. He was then living close to Mapasa, and as long as hostilities were confined to the Fingos he took part in them, but when it came to fighting with Europeans he considered it prudent to desist, and therefore moved over the Kei and claimed British protection. He was allowed to reside temporarily with Mapasa, but he appeared to be so insignificant that very little notice was taken of him. His arms were registered, but he was not then required to surrender them.

When Colonel Griffith had followed the Galekas over the Umtata and was on his way back, the honourable Charles Brownlee, secretary for native affairs, informed Mapasa that he must give up his arms and return to his old home, and to this he agreed, as he was unable to resist. He surrendered four hundred and fifty-four guns and two thousand four hundred and eighteen assagais before he left to recross the Kei. At the same time Mackinnon was informed that he must give up his arms and pay two hundred head of cattle as his share of the damage done to the Fingos, and that as soon as possible he would be sent to his former home over the Kei. He tried to remonstrate, and objected especially to be disarmed, but was told that the decision of the government was unalterable. That night, 19th of November, he and his people fled with all their belongings from their temporary residence, the Galekas among them with their arms in their hands back over the Kei, and the Amandlambe towards their kinsmen under Ndimba in the Gaika location. As soon as their flight was known some police were sent in pursuit, who overtook them just as they reached Ndimba's residence, and seized fifty-six head of cattle, about five hundred

sheep and goats, four guns, and some twenty assagais. By this time Ndimba's men, all armed, had come to the aid of their relatives, and some shots were fired, though without any one being hurt, so the police retired with what they had seized, and Mackinnon with his people and the remainder of his cattle reached a place of shelter.

This affair added to the alarm in the border districts, for it was held to be the first overt act in a general insurrection. Here was armed resistance to the orders of the government, what next would happen?

The military authorities hardly knew what to do. Affairs in Zululand indicated that Ketshwayo might at any moment force on a war, so that not a soldier could be withdrawn from Natal or the Transvaal, and the troops on the border were too few to do more than hold the posts of protection. It was therefore necessary that everything possible should be done to stave off an outbreak, at least until such time as the colony should be better able to cope with it than it then was. With this view, on the 23rd of November Mr. W. B. Chalmers was sent as a commissioner to the Gaika location to endeavour to induce Mackinnon to submit. He found both Sandile and Ndimba professing to be loyal, and the latter expressed regret for what his men had done. Mackinnon kept out of sight for several days, but at length Sandile sent some of his counsellors to order him to do as the commissioner wished, and on the 2nd of December he professed perfect submission to the government and gave up fifty-five head of horned cattle, seven guns, and ninety assagais. Mr. Chalmers accepted these as sufficient to make up, with what the police had seized, the fine of two hundred head of cattle and the surrender of his arms, and Mackinnon was informed that the government was satisfied and had no other claim against him. Thus one threatening danger appeared to be averted.

But on the very day that this arrangement was concluded, 2nd of December 1877, it became known that instead of the Galeka army having been broken up and dispersed, as every one had believed, it had merely executed a clever strategic movement, had placed its women, children, and cattle in places of safety, and was returning to its own country to renew the war.

The only force remaining in Galekaland at the time consisted in round numbers of five hundred of the frontier armed and mounted police, with their horses needing a long rest, and two hundred infantry volunteers, even the Bantu auxiliaries having been allowed to return to their homes. That an officer of Colonel Griffith's experience could have made such a mistake would be inexplicable, except for the fact that volunteers, white or black, cannot be kept in the field suffering discomfort when there is apparently nothing for them to do.

On the 1st of December Inspector Bourne was sent from Ibeka to patrol the country with twenty-five of the police and one hundred and twenty-seven volunteers from Capetown and Grahamstown. He had two waggons with him laden with food and baggage, and two field guns drawn by horses. He did not anticipate meeting with opposition, the patrol being regarded more as one for practice than for real work. That night he encamped near Sigcawu's burnt kraal, having seen nothing as yet to indicate that the country was again occupied.

On the morning of Sunday the 2nd he went forward towards Umzint sani, better known to Europeans as Holland's shop, when to his surprise he encountered a division of the Galeka army several hundred strong, and a skirmish followed, in which one policeman was killed. The Galekas were beaten off, and as the ground there was rugged, the patrol moved to more open country, and formed a camp. A message was sent to Colonel Griffith, informing him of what had occurred, and asking for assistance. The camp was put into as

good a condition for defence as the means at hand allowed of, the guns were loaded and placed in position, and the horses and oxen were fastened to the waggons.

At half past six that evening the camp was attacked by fully a thousand Galekas, who entirely surrounded it. Great execution was done by the guns and the rifle fire of the defenders, but until eight o'clock the fighting was continuous. The horses and oxen, startled by the cannon fire, broke loose and stampeded, falling into the enemy's hands. A Capetown volunteer named Henry Philip Baron was killed, and six volunteers and one policeman were wounded. Fortunately the aim of the Galekas was imperfect, or the casualties must have been much heavier. Inspector Bourne's ammunition was almost exhausted when the assailants withdrew, after losing a great many men, but still preserving a defiant attitude. At half past ten Sub-Inspector Hatton arrived with reinforcements, but it was considered prudent to form the whole force into a hollow square and remain in that position with their rifles in their hands till daylight next morning.

On the 4th of December Colonel Griffith reported what had occurred, and asked for reinforcements to be sent to him as speedily as possible. And so the colony was awakened to the fact that a general Kaffir war was in progress, for no one doubted any longer that the Rarabe clans would take part in it.

Measures were at once adopted to collect an active force on the border. General Cunynghame resolved to remove every soldier from Capetown, and to entrust the care of the forts and military buildings to volunteers. On the 5th of December the governor requested Commodore Sullivan by telegraph to aid with as large a naval contingent as he could spare, and to convey the troops from Capetown to East London with the least possible delay. Major Elliot was directed to call out the Tembus again, and volunteers all over the country were appealed to.

Commodore Sullivan chartered the coasting steamer *Florence*, and all the soldiers in Capetown, a few artillerymen and engineers and one hundred and fifty men of the eighty-eighth regiment, were embarked in her and the *Active*. A quantity of ammunition and all the provisions that could be spared from the naval magazine were also shipped, and on the 10th of December the two vessels left Table Bay. On the 13th they reached East London, where the bar was found to be almost impassable, but on the 16th the troops and provisions were landed without mishap. A naval brigade of nine officers and one hundred and eighty-three seamen and marines was also landed, with a gatling gun, six twelve-pounders, and two rocket tubes. These were sent on to Kei road station by train, and were afterwards of great service. So thoroughly had the Cape peninsula been denuded of troops that only fifty-nine soldiers were left to guard the dockyard in Simonstown.

It was considered by the government a matter of importance to keep the chief Oba out of the strife, if it could be done, not so much on account of the number of his immediate followers as of his reputation as a fighting leader. He had won renown in the war of 1850-52 as second only to Makoma in skill and daring, and had ever since been called by the Xosas Ngonyama, the Lion. His people were regarded as the most restless of all the Rarabe clans, and as it was they who had massacred the military settlers in the Tyumie valley on Christmas 1850, the Europeans on the frontier looked upon them as bloodthirsty and treacherous to the last degree. In reality they were no worse than other uncivilised Kaffirs, and the chief himself and many of his men were by no means lacking in good qualities. There could be no question now that if Oba were to go into rebellion every Xosa in the frontier districts who might otherwise have wavered would join him, and therefore it was desirable to keep him quiet.

On the 6th of December the author of these volumes, who was known to the Xosas as an antiquary versed in their lore and interested in their welfare, received a telegram asking if he would take charge of Oba and his clan, and try to influence them for good. The civil commissioner of the district of Victoria East, Percy Nightingale, Esqre., who was doing all that a most efficient and sensible official could do to preserve order, had represented to the government that he thought the people in question would listen to one whom they knew so well and for whom they professed to feel the highest regard. An opportunity to be of some service to the country and to the Kaffirs also was not to be neglected, and the request was complied with. This need not be referred to again, and it will suffice to say that Oba and his clan took no part whatever in the war, but were induced to move westward, where the people dispersed in service among farmers at a great distance from the scene of hostilities, and the chief with his leading men consented to be conveyed to Capetown and to remain there until the war was over. An empty barrack at Wynberg was assigned for his residence and that of his attendants. Not a drop of their blood was shed, nor did they shed a drop of the blood of any white man.

As regards military operations, on the 9th of December Colonel Glynn was placed in command of all the forces that could be gathered for service in Galekaland, with instructions to try to subdue Kreli's army, and Colonel W. Bellairs took the position previously held by Colonel Glynn west of the Kei.

This condition of things was an anomaly in a colony with responsible government, that might be supposed to provide for its own defence. The imperial authorities threw the blame upon the Cape government for not having provided for such an emergency by organising proper forces in time, and when the governor and the

general applied for more soldiers, announced that two additional battalions would be sent out, but that all expenses must be paid by the colonial treasury. A different view was generally held in South Africa, where the troubles on the border were attributed by most people to the policy enforced by the secretaries of state before the introduction of home rule, with the consequence that Great Britain ought to furnish the men and money and put matters right, after which the colony would be solely responsible for its own defence. Whether this view was tenable or not, at this particular time the imperial forces were almost alone in the field. In the frontier districts the burghers could not volunteer for service, because they had to protect their families, and those at a distance needed time to muster. There was also among these last named, especially among the Dutch speaking farmers of the west, great reluctance to being placed under the command of regular military officers unacquainted with their habits, so that they did not respond heartily to the call that was made upon them.

On the 19th of December two of Kreli's counsellors, named Botumane and Waki, came in and applied to be informed what terms would be granted to their chief if he would desist from further fighting. They were assured that no harm would be done to him personally and that he would receive good treatment, but that he would be required to live wherever the government should decide. An armistice of six days was agreed upon to give him time to consider these terms, but he did not accept them.

In the interval the event of greatest importance in the whole course of the war took place. On the 24th of December Kiva, the bravest leader of the Galeka army, with a body-guard of two hundred men, crossed the Kei and entered the Gaika location, where he made an impassioned appeal to the people to aid the head of

their tribe in his time of need. Had an Englishman acted in this way under similar circumstances his countrymen would have applauded him, and much as Kiva's conduct is to be regretted, he is certainly entitled to a large amount of respect.

An old hereditary counsellor of the Gaika clan, named Tyala, opposed taking up arms, because, he said, it meant destruction and death. Before the preceding wars his advice had always been in favour of the maintenance of peace, but when he was overruled by Sandile, his chief, no one fought more bravely than he. It was the same at the time of the delusion of Nongqause. He had pleaded against the destruction of the cattle and corn, and had foretold what the consequences must be, but Sandile had rejected his advice, and he had submitted. And now once more the old man's voice was heard, begging his chief not to bring ruin upon the people, and pointing out that it was madness to try to resist the government. As for himself, come what might, he would be no party to bringing death to his clansmen, and therefore would not follow his chief as he had always done before, if rebellion was decided upon.

Sandile, weak and irresolute, but impulsive, was carried away by the appeal of Kiva, and decided hastily to give assistance to the Galekas. The young men, eager for excitement, flourished their arms, the war cry was raised, and then, even if Sandile had changed his mind, it would have been too late to adopt another and wiser course.

Tyala, with a sorrowful heart, left the location and went to reside at Greytown, to keep away from the strife and to preserve a remnant of his clan in safety. With him went some of the most sensible of Sandile's people, who were of his opinion that rebellion would result in utter destruction, and these formed the nucleus of the party afterwards known as the loyal Gaikas. They were joined by some members of other clans, and ultimately one thousand four hundred and eighteen men

were registered, two hundred and twenty-three guns, mostly muzzle loaders, and three thousand five hundred assagais were taken from them, and they were supplied with passes which enabled them to move about freely. They had with them ten thousand five hundred head of horned cattle. A few of them were really spies, and when opportunities offered fought on the rebel side, as was ascertained by their dead bodies being found after engagements with their passes in their skin bags.

Ndimba and Mackinnon with their people joined the rebels, but old Anta, who was too feeble to move about, Fini, son of Tyali, and Kona, Makoma's son of highest rank, declared their intention to remain faithful to the government.

On the 22nd of December General Cunynghame left King-Williamstown, and on the 25th reached Ibeka, where he intended to remain while operations were being conducted against the Galekas. He had hardly crossed the Kei when communication by post with the governor was cut off by the rebels, who took possession of several miles of the main road between Komgha and King-Williamstown, burnt the Draibos hotel and several farm houses, and lay in wait for the commissariat waggons conveying supplies of provisions to Galekaland.

On the 29th of December a strong force of the mounted police and eighty-eighth regiment left Komgha to try to clear the road, but did not succeed in doing so, though many of the rebels were shot. A policeman was killed and two officers were wounded on this occasion. On the following day another party was sent from Komgha to escort the mail, but was obliged to return after losing three killed and two wounded.

On the 31st the telegraph wire, which the rebels had previously regarded with superstitious dread, was cut, but it was quickly repaired, and the road was cleared for traffic again by a combined force of soldiers, police, and volunteers. Martial law was now, 31st of December,

proclaimed in the districts of Stutterheim and Komgha, which enabled the military authorities to act more freely.

At this time messages were again received from Kreli that he would like to see Colonel Eustace, and that gentleman on two occasions met him unarmed and with no other attendant than an interpreter, when he was assured that if he would surrender his life would be spared and his people would be provided with land to live on, but he could not be induced to give himself up. What he wanted was to remain with his followers as their head, and if this was conceded he was ready to promise that he would desist from further fighting. As his proposal could not be agreed to, on the 27th of December a reward of £1,000 was offered for his apprehension, but without effect, for no one among his people was base enough to betray him. Mapasa's followers, who had been sent back to their own country, might indeed have done so, for the feud between them and the other Galekas had grown into the most bitter hatred, but they had no opportunity of ascertaining even where he was, much less of getting near him.

Two bodies of men were now raised under semi-military regulations, who did excellent service during the remainder of the war. One of these consisted of four hundred footmen, enrolled by Lieutenant-Colonel Pulleine, of the first battalion of the twenty-fourth regiment, and was called Pulleine's rangers. The other was enrolled by Lieutenant Carrington, of the same regiment, and consisted of two hundred mounted men, called Carrington's horse. Both these officers were detached for this duty, and proved themselves most competent to carry it out.

On the 31st of December three officials of the Cape government were murdered in the district of East London. Mr. Richard George Tainton, special magistrate of Tamacha, his brother, Mr. John Tainton, inspector of police, and Fieldcornet W. C. Brown, with fifty-three

Bantu policemen, were following up some stolen cattle, and at eleven o'clock in the morning of the last day of the year came to a deserted farm on the Kwelegha river. There while resting the three white men were suddenly attacked and murdered, their police looking on without making any effort to assist them.

In addition to a good deal of skirmishing, which had very little effect upon either the government forces or the Xosas, the rebels made two raids into Fingoland, and did a considerable amount of damage there. The first of these took place on the 28th of December, when they crossed the Kei at the junction of the Tsomo, and advanced six miles or nearly ten kilometres towards Blythswood, burning all the kraals and seizing all the cattle that could not be driven away in time. On the 8th of January 1878 a larger number crossed the Kei at the same place, and made a determined attack upon a strong party of Fingos encamped near the eastern bank purposely to defend the ford. Captain Rorke was in command of the Fingos, and after an engagement that lasted an hour, the rebels were repulsed and driven over the river again, leaving twenty-three of their number dead on the ground.

Two days later the Gaika location was entered by a colonial force with some Fingos attached to it, and in addition to other damage inflicted on the rebels, Ndimba's kraal was burned.

On the 13th of January 1878 there was an engagement about four miles south-west of Kentani hill between a patrol under Lieutenant-Colonel Glynn and ten or twelve hundred Galekas, which lasted an hour and a half. Some fifty Galekas were killed by the fire from sniders, which was not only more rapid but effective at a greater distance than that from their muzzle loaders. Led by Kiva, however, they pressed on again and again, and five soldiers were wounded before they finally retired.

The area of disturbance was every week becoming greater, notwithstanding the fact that in all the encounters and skirmishes that took place on both sides of the Kei the Europeans were the victors. The war spirit seemed to be infectious, and clans were drawn into rebellion without being able to assign any reason for what they were doing. This, for instance, was the case with the Gunukwebes under Delima, son of Pato, whose location was near the Wesleyan mission station Mount Coke. They could not remain impassive with excitement all around them, and they never asked themselves the question what the result was likely to be. Many of the European inhabitants were rather pleased than alarmed when the new outbreak took place, and their language, if not their attitude, was on some occasions so hostile as to provoke a rising. The condition of things, they said, was worse than that of open war, they were being plundered to a ruinous extent, without the liberty of retaliation, they were compelled to remove their families to places of safety, and to cease their ordinary occupations: better therefore that every robber on the frontier should turn rebel as well, so that an end could be put to their depredations.

The defection of one prominent man, however, caused real surprise. This man was Dukwana, son of Ntsikana, who had always borne the character of being a sincere Christian, was an active evangelist, and dressed and lived in the European manner. Dukwana announced that he regarded his duty to Sandile, his chief, as taking precedence of his allegiance to the English government, and therefore he went into rebellion. He did not put off his European clothing, and he continued to hold prayer meetings and other religious services wherever he was, but thereafter he was the constant attendant of Sandile, as ready to draw trigger upon a white man as any other Gaika. Two of his sons, whose conduct when at Lovedale, however, was so unsatis-

factory that little good was expected of them, went with him. Another son, a good English scholar who was leading a highly useful life, died the year before the time of trial came to his family.

One of Sandile's sons, who was called Gonya by his people and Edmund Sandile by Europeans, had been educated at Zonnebloem, and was a professed Christian. He had been for some time a clerk in the office of the magistrate at Middle Drift, and in addition had a farm given to him by the government, which he let at high rent, so that he was in fairly good circumstances. He was too conceited and too weak minded to command the respect of Europeans, who thought much more highly of his brother Matanzima,* a fine specimen of a crude barbarian. Both of them followed their father, both were captured some months later, and were tried for rebellion at the same time. But very different was their attitude in the dock: Edmund whining and begging for mercy, Matanzima with his head erect and not a muscle quivering, as calm and firm as if he was a disinterested spectator.

A great change came over Sandile himself when he went into rebellion. He had been a drunkard for ten years, a wretched stupid sot, by Europeans deemed irreclaimable. Yet now he told his people they were not to procure strong drink for him, as this was not the time to use it, and those who were with him to the end, when months later he was mortally wounded by a chance bullet, reported that he never once touched it, not even when suffering from cold and hunger and stormy weather, when some of his attendants managed to procure a little brandy and pressed it upon him. It would be hard to find an instance of a man having more command over himself than this changeable barbarian certainly had. Irresolute in everything else, in this one matter he was decidedly firm.

* Son of the second wife in rank of Sandile.

At this time the murder of a man, though a very humble one, took place, which deserves some mention. It has been stated that the reverend Dr. Vanderkemp, the leader of the first mission party of the London society in South Africa, purchased a slave girl and married her. By her he had a son, who received as good an education as was then possible to obtain in this country. The boy, however, was without his father's ability, and preferred a wandering life to a settled occupation. As a man he was perfectly harmless, and gained an honest living as a schoolmaster among Dutch speaking farmers, with whom, though he was coloured, he was a general favourite. In course of time he acquired a small herd of cattle, with which he wandered about, the owners of land giving him pasture, and when the war broke out in 1877 he was staying temporarily on a farm in the district of East London. Old Kootje, as he was usually called by Europeans, did not fear molestation by the Gaikas, who knew him as the son of Jankana, the first missionary to the Xosas, so he was in no hurry to remove. On the 15th of January 1878 he was surprised by a party who drove off his cattle and murdered the poor old man.

The enemies of the colony were now increased by a section of the Tembu tribe, that was not under the immediate control of Gangelizwe, joining them. The first chief of note who took part in the disturbance was Gongubela, head of the Tshatshu clan, which since 1846 had been closely allied with the Gaikas, and whose kraals adjoined the upper end of the Gaika location, but he was soon followed by others. Volunteers and burghers from different parts of the country were gathering in considerable numbers, however, so that the means to deal with rebellion were much greater than they had been a few weeks earlier.

At this period of the war disagreement commenced between the governor and the members of the ministry

who were on the frontier, of which an account will presently be given, and on the 15th of January Colonel Griffith was appointed by the ministers commandant-general of the colonial forces, and without any reference to General Cunynghame, who was still at Ibeka, preparations were made for dealing promptly with the rebels. Already Commandant (later Sir John) Frost had been directed with a strong body of volunteers and Fingos to operate in the Gaika location in conjunction with another column of Fingos under Commandant Rorke.

On the 14th Commandant Frost marched from Toise's river with three hundred and ninety-seven burgher volunteers and two hundred and fifty Fingos to Mgwali mission station, skirmishing with rebels on the way and capturing some cattle, but losing one man killed, Jan Grobbelaar by name. At Mgwali a junction was effected with Commandant Rorke's division, and the next day the march was continued to Lugilo mission station. At the Kabusi there was some sharp fighting, and over a hundred Kaffirs were killed, but elsewhere the location seemed to have been almost abandoned by men, who, it was supposed, were with the Galekas beyond the Kei. On the 18th the Kabusi was crossed, and operations were continued until the 21st, which resulted in the capture of two thousand seven hundred and fifty head of horned cattle and over five thousand six hundred sheep and goats.

At the same time that Commandant Frost was engaged in the above mentioned duty, a military force under Lieutenant-Colonel W. Lambert, of the eighty-eighth regiment, was engaged in scouring the Tshetshaba valley, south of Komgha, where, as afterwards ascertained, the rebels were keeping most of their cattle. This large valley, which opens upon the Kei, was an ideal retreat for Kaffirs, as it contained many ridges extremely difficult of access and thickly wooded gorges in which men and animals could remain concealed. The expedition

under Colonel Lambert was not coöperating with that under Commandant Frost, having received its instructions from General Cunynghame, while the latter had received his from the honourable Mr. Merriman, a member of the ministry. It consisted of one hundred and twenty-two soldiers of the eighty-eighth regiment, fifty-eight men of Sansom's horse, four sailors and five artillerymen with two seven-pounders, and a large number of Fingos. On the 14th of January it left Komgha, and in the afternoon of the 16th completed its task, having captured in round numbers twelve thousand head of horned cattle and eight thousand sheep and goats, and having killed at least sixty of the rebels, with a loss to itself of only one Fingo killed and three wounded. While the valley was being scoured, its exit on the side of the Kei was guarded by a body of troops under Colonel Glynn, and at its western extremity Commandant Edward Yewd Brabant with the East London volunteers kept watch, so that escape was cut off in both directions.

The next operation of any importance was an expedition sent against Gongubela by the ministry, and was conducted by Mr. John Hemming, civil commissioner of Queenstown. It consisted of three hundred and seventy-three European and thirty-eight coloured volunteers, that marched from Queenstown on the 22nd of January. At the Bolotwa it was reinforced by fifty special constables and two hundred blacks, but on nearing its destination that number was found insufficient, for it was ascertained that some Hottentots and many of Anta's Gaikas, who had been regarded as loyal, were with Gongubela. On the 24th a sharp engagement took place on the bank of the Kei, when, after his ammunition was nearly all expended, Mr. Hemming was obliged to retire. His camp was then attacked by a body of Tembus under Umfanta, a brother of Gangelizwe, but who was at feud with that chief. The attack was made so suddenly and unexpectedly that fifty horses were captured and driven

off before any resistance could be made, but the Tembus who were retiring with their booty were followed up, and forty-two of them were shot, though the horses were not recovered. Thereafter Umfanta and his clan were among the active opponents of the colony.

Gongubela was not left long undisturbed. Colonel Griffith and Commandant Frost received instructions to march against him, and on the 4th of February they reached his kraals. Commandant Frost had with him three hundred and twenty volunteers and six hundred and eighty Fingos. He killed eighty of the enemy and captured about seven hundred head of horned cattle and one thousand sheep and goats, with a loss of one Fingo killed and two wounded. Colonel Griffith arranged his force in four columns, one of which met with stubborn resistance at a very strong position on the Zwart Kei about four miles or a little over six kilometres above its junction with the White Kei. Great numbers of the enemy, among whom were many of Anta's men, were killed, and about two thousand head of horned cattle and five thousand sheep were captured. Among the killed were several chiefs, but Gongubela and Umfanta were neither shot nor captured. Colonel Griffith had one Fingo killed and three Europeans and one Fingo wounded.

A small body of men that afterwards did excellent service arrived in King-Williamstown on the 4th of February. It was called the Diamond Field Horse, and consisted of ten officers and one hundred and eight privates, commanded by Colonel Charles Warren, of the royal engineers, enrolled by Major Lanyon at Kimberley at the request of Sir Bartle Frere. With President Brand's permission it had marched through the Orange Free State, and after a ride of over three hundred miles it reached King-Williamstown in condition for immediate service. Being a semi-military body, it was more amenable to discipline than a corps of volunteers.

In Galekaland matters were progressing favourably. On the 27th of January Captain Russel Upcher with one hundred and fifty-five soldiers, one hundred and forty-one men of the mounted police, twenty-seven seamen, and four hundred Fingos left Ibeka, and in the afternoon of the same day reached a forest in which his scouts had informed him a strong party of the enemy had their quarters. He attacked them there, and succeeded in killing about forty of them, but did not drive them out and disperse them, as he wished to do. His casualties were one sailor and five Fingos wounded.

The most stubbornly contested engagement in the whole course of the war took place at Kentani on the 7th of February 1878. Colonel Glynn had formed a camp there, which was enclosed by a quadrangular earthen bank of no great height, being intended more to mark the limits of the ground occupied than as an aid to defence.

On the 5th of February some Fingo scouts brought word to the camp that they had seen a great many Galekas only a few miles away. Captain Upcher, of the first battalion of the twenty-fourth, who was in command, then caused the earthen walls to be raised higher to serve as breastworks, and had his field guns placed in good position for use, in case he should be attacked. But no enemy appeared either on that day or on the following.

There were in the camp at this time two hundred and four officers and men of the first twenty-fourth, eighty-three of the frontier armed and mounted police, seventy-four officers and men of Carrington's horse, one officer and twenty-five men of the naval brigade, sixteen artillerymen of the mounted police, and thirteen men of the Capetown volunteer artillery, in all four hundred and sixteen Europeans. They had one nine-pounder and two seven-pounder field guns, and one twenty-four pounder rocket tube served by seamen. About three hundred

Fingos were there also, who had their meals and slept in temporary screens close by. They were led by Veldman, an experienced and trustworthy headman, who had received an excellent training when attached as a scout to the frontier armed and mounted police. By the military authorities the services of these men, particularly as scouts, were regarded as almost indispensable.

Kreli, acting on the advice of Xito, the tribal priest,* who was supported by Sigcawu and Kiva, had collected his best fighting men in the Tala bush not far distant, with the intention of making a dash upon the camp at early dawn on some favourable morning, overpowering the white men and the Fingos, who it was anticipated would be taken by surprise, and getting possession of a supply of ammunition and food. Three or four thousand of his warriors had gone through the usual preparations for a battle, had received charms from Xito, which they hung round their necks, and each man bore the war mark, a black spot on his forehead. All was in proper order, just as the spirits of the mighty dead would have it, so chiefs and common men alike were confident that they would have success.

Sandile and two or three thousand Gaikas were with Kreli's people, but did not entirely agree with them as to an attack upon the camp at Kentani. Sandile was more in favour of a raid into Fingoland with all the men that could be mustered, when they might make sure of obtaining much spoil, and of being able to retire with it to some locality where they could make a successful defence. But Kreli would not consent to this and the Gaikas then resolved to let the Galekas take the lead in the attack and to watch the result.

* *Witchfinder* is the term commonly used by European colonists to signify the holder of this office, but the word is not a good one. Xito's duties were to perform sacrifices for the tribe on important occasions, to prepare warriors for battle, and to *smell out* those who sought to inflict injury on the chief's house by means of witchcraft.

The morning of the 7th seemed specially favourable for the purpose. A thick mist, in which nothing was visible at a distance, shrouded the land, so at early dawn Kreli assembled his warriors, and in three columns of over a thousand men in each, led respectively by Xito, Sigcawu, and Kiva, they marched towards the camp. The Gaikas, two or three thousand strong, followed close behind. They thought to get close to their object unperceived, and then to make a sudden rush in, but they were disappointed. Captain Upcher had Fingo scouts far advanced, and at half past four in the morning some of them came in almost breathless, and announced that an army which seemed to them beyond number was approaching. There was just time to strike the tents, and to send a message to Tutura—once the mission station of the reverend Tiyo Soga,—where a body of troops on the way from Ibeka, under Captain Robinson of the royal engineers, was known to be halting for the night, urging them to hurry on, when the mist cleared a little, and one of the Galeka columns was seen at a distance of about eighteen hundred metres.

Fire was at once opened upon it from the nine-pounder, and as soon as it came within range from the rocket tube. The three columns pressed on, however, till they were within three or four hundred metres of the camp, when so many of their men fell from the rifle fire that was poured into them that they seemed to be wavering. A company of the twenty-fourth and some of the mounted police and Carrington's horse were then sent out to pretend to attack, really to draw them on, and upon the Galekas making a stand to receive them, they turned and fled back again. With a great shout the enemy pursued, and the Gaikas, believing the Europeans to be beaten, joined in the *melée*. A desperate fight then took place, the black warriors doing their best to overpower the little band of Europeans, with the Fingos

counted in only one to ten of themselves, but all in vain. Their guns were only muzzle loaders, and their firing was so wild that the balls passed over the heads of their opponents, only two of whom were killed and nine wounded during the whole battle, while their bravest and best men were picked off by the steady fire and accurate aim of the defenders. At half past ten Captain Robinson's reinforcement arrived, and its appearance on their flank tended to make the enemy lose heart. They gave up the contest, and retreated in confusion, but carried with them their wounded, who numbered many hundreds. About four hundred had been killed. Only two prisoners, both Gaikas, were taken, from whom the particulars of the arrangements made in the early morning were learned.

After their defeat Sandile and his Gaikas recrossed the Kei, and occupied the rugged country along the lower course of the Thomas river.

As far as Kreli was concerned, the battle of Kentani was a decisive one. He immediately retired across the Bashee into Bomvanaland, where he managed to secrete himself and those followers who would not leave him under any circumstances. The Bomvanas under Moni, though they would not fight for him, were very willing to give him shelter, and not one of them ever thought of betraying him to the British officials. Here and in Pondoland he wandered about until the 28th of June 1881, when, through the agency of Mr. William Fynn, he met Captain Blyth, chief magistrate of Transkei, on the western bank of the Bashee, and placed himself unreservedly in the hands of the colonial government. He was accompanied by two of his sons, two of his brothers, and about two hundred of his most devoted followers. The unfortunate old man—he was then sixty-five or sixty-six years of age—said he was no longer a chief, meaning that he was in very reduced circumstances, but which was taken to imply that he relinquished his chief-

tainship, he surrendered all his arms, and promised to be obedient to the colonial government in the future.

A small tract of land in the district of Elliotdale was then purchased from the Bomvanas, and was allotted to him as a residence. There the last paramount ruler of the Xosa tribe, the man whose command had once been implicitly obeyed by every warrior from the Keiskama to the Bashee who could hurl an assagai, passed the remainder of his life in almost complete obscurity. As far as food and clothing were concerned, he wanted nothing, and the Galekas still regarded him with affection and reverence, but he must often have reflected with bitterness upon the fact that he was no longer a power in the land. Such is the inevitable fate of a barbarian ruler who endeavours to resist the progress of a civilised neighbour, he must go under.

After the battle of Kentani most of the Galekas, who were in a condition of extreme poverty and distress, professed submission to the European authorities, and were permitted to settle in the part of their former country that thereafter became known as the district of Willowvale. Kiva with a small band of really desperate men would neither flee nor submit. He vowed vengeance against his uncle Mapasa for abandoning the Galeka cause and becoming a *dog* of the white man, and declared he would never rest until he had shed the blood of the traitor. But his career was soon ended. On the 8th of March the forest which he had made his retreat was attacked by a force of Fingos, and in the skirmish he was killed. Thereafter only police work remained to be done in Galekaland, for armed resistance was over.

CHAPTER V.

COMPULSORY RETIREMENT OF THE MOLTENO MINISTRY.

At this time a change of ministry took place, under circumstances unique in the history of British dependencies possessing responsible government. In the method of carrying on the war it was almost inevitable that Sir Bartle Frere and the honourable Mr. Molteno should not look at matters from the same standpoint, for their past experience was widely different. The governor had been through the Indian mutiny, and consequently knew the value of discipline and had the very highest opinion of the qualifications of the British soldier for warfare of every kind. Mr. Molteno had been through an earlier Kaffir war, and had as high an opinion as the governor of the value of a soldier in an open fight, but believed that for roughing it in the field and for hunting up barbarians in forests a colonist was preferable to a highly disciplined man.

Down to the time of the return of the Galekas from Pondoland all the active operations had been performed by the police and the volunteers, the soldiers merely holding certain positions as posts of protection, and with this arrangement both the governor and the minister were satisfied. So far the war might be said to be carried on in a foreign country, for Galekaland was not in the colony, and the Galekas were not British subjects. But when the Gaikas under Sandile joined their kinsmen over the Kei, the condition became different. Thereafter the principal, and very shortly the only, operations carried on were against rebel insurgents, and the scene of the fighting was colonial soil.

Sir Bartle Frere regarded the disturbance with the Xosas and some of the Tembus as only part of a very large whole. In Griqualand East there was a petty rebellion, on the border of Griqualand West the Batlapin chief Botlasitsi was giving trouble, in Southern Basutoland the Baputi chief Morosi was disaffected, in the Transvaal the Bapedi chief Sekukuni was setting the British administration at defiance, and in Zululand Ketshwayo, the most powerful chief in South Africa, was acting in such a manner that Sir Theophilus Shepstone was applying for more troops, as war might break out at any moment. Probably the machinations of Ketshwayo did not extend to the Cape frontier, as Sir Bartle Frere and many others believed they did, but certainly there could be neither tranquillity nor progress in Natal or the Transvaal while the menace of a Zulu army forty or fifty thousand strong remained on their border.

In this condition of things Sir Bartle Frere asked for two more battalions, and Lord Carnarvon in his friendly desire to assist South Africa, supported the application. They could ill be spared at the time, for there was trouble in Europe, but the cabinet would not neglect this country in a time of need, and the ninetieth and the second battalion of the twenty-fourth were at once sent out. On the 3rd of February a battery of artillery arrived at Capetown, and was at once sent to East London. The next day the ninetieth regiment arrived in Capetown, and three hundred men were forwarded to Natal and six hundred to East London, whence they proceeded to Fort Beaufort. On the 28th of February the second battalion of the twenty-fourth arrived at East London, where it disembarked, and was distributed among various stations.

In connection with the question of soldiers *versus* volunteers, was the one of who should have the direction of operations in the field. Sir Bartle Frere was of opinion that the general commanding her Majesty's

troops was the proper person, under whose control all volunteers and colonial forces of every kind should be placed. This was necessary, he maintained, in order to prevent confusion and to secure that coöperation which was essential for speedy success. He was unwilling that the general should have supreme control beyond the Kei and a colonial officer have similar authority west of that river, because it was impossible to make a distinction in this instance between foreign and civil war, and because King-Williamstown being the base of operations, it was necessary to keep open the line of communication with the Transkei by posts garrisoned by regular troops at Kei Road and Komgha, which could not be placed under colonial control. The volunteers and all other forces should be provided for by the imperial commissariat, to keep down the expense which competition would increase, and a strict account could be kept, so that the colony might know exactly what its expenses were.

Mr. Molteno on the other hand maintained that the rebellion was a matter with which the colony alone had to deal, that imperial troops were not needed for the purpose, that their employment might produce complications in the final settlement, that being placed under the control of a military officer prevented volunteers from coming forward, and that as the colony was required to pay for the soldiers there was no saving in expense. He objected in particular to the general commanding her Majesty's troops being entrusted with the control of operations against the rebels, which were really of the nature of police duties, and which a colony possessing responsible government should be left unfettered to deal with in its own way.

In accordance with these views, Mr. Merriman, commissioner of crown lands and public works, who represented the prime minister on the frontier, had for some time been issuing instructions to the colonial commanders without any reference to General Cunynghame,

who remained at Ibeka until the last week in January. On the 9th of January Mr. Molteno arrived in King-Williamstown, and soon afterwards the differences between him and the governor came to an issue.

The conflicting views regarding this matter are here given in the words of the governor and the minister. On the 26th of January Sir Bartle Frere drew up a memorandum on the subject, of which the following paragraphs are extracts:

“The governor’s commission recites, the constitution of the office of governor and commander-in-chief, with authority over ‘all forts and garrisons, erected or established, or which shall be erected or established within our said Colony,’ that his powers and authorities will be as specified in royal commissions, letters patent, and instructions under various forms from a secretary of state, and ‘such laws as are or hereafter shall be in force in our said colony.’

“It appears to me clear that the intention of the constitution was and is that there should be one person, the governor and commander-in-chief, in chief command of all military forces of every kind, colonial as well as imperial, performing all executive duties through a commander of the forces, whose commission gives him power to command her Majesty’s troops, and who may be empowered by the governor and commander-in-chief to command colonial forces formally declared to be in the field of his operations. Such power to command colonial forces was formally given to his Excellency Sir Arthur Cunynghame by authority of the governor and commander-in-chief of the colony, and has been exercised by him since our first meeting of four members of the executive council, after receiving the news of the first outbreak. His Excellency’s powers in this respect have never been revoked by me.

“Mr. Molteno now proposes to invest an office, to be created by himself, unknown as yet to parliament and

the constitution, and unsanctioned by law, with powers of supreme command over all colonial forces, entirely independent, as I understand him, of all control or subordination to the governor or any other executive military or civil officer, recognised by parliament or the constitution.

“To whom is this newly created officer intended to be responsible? Obviously not to the governor and commander-in-chief, nor to the commander of the forces, for it is very clearly indicated in Mr. Molteno’s memoranda that he is not to be under their control, nor to parliament, for parliament can never have heard of him.

“As a matter of fact, the executive control of all operations connected with the colonial forces appears, for the last ten days, to have rested entirely with the commissioner of crown lands and public works; and, so far as I understand, is so to continue. I have never failed to do justice to the minister who now so ably fills that office; but this arrangement is entirely unknown to parliament and to the constitution, and I cannot feel at all sure that it will be approved by parliament.

“Let me briefly recapitulate the conclusions at which I have arrived,—

“1. That the command of all forces in the field legally and by the constitution rests with the general officer commanding her Majesty’s forces, when empowered by the governor as commander-in-chief to assume command of colonial forces so employed.

“2. That the appointment of a commandant-general to command colonial forces in the field independent of the general officer commanding her Majesty’s forces, empowered as above by the governor and commander-in-chief, is at present illegal and unconstitutional.

“3. That his acts, and the acts of those that obey him, will be illegal, and will not be covered by any act of indemnity passed to absolve from penalties all who

act as military taking part in military operations in the field.

“4. That the only legal and constitutional way for government to avail itself of the services of the commandant-general is to continue the system followed when Commandant-General Griffith was commandant of police, viz., that he should act in the field under the general control of the general commanding the forces, and that all colonial forces ready to take the field should from time to time as they go to the field be formally placed by the colonial government under the general's command for this purpose.”

On the 2nd of February Mr. Molteno drew up a minute, which was read at a meeting of the executive council, and of which the following paragraphs are extracts :

“Ministers are prepared to undertake the responsibility of putting down rebellion in the speediest and most effectual manner, and they have expressed to his Excellency their opinion that this may best be carried out by colonial forces, led by colonists, and not encumbered by military impediments.

“They consider that to place such a force under the control of the military authorities would seriously impair its usefulness, and would tend to prolong the operations for an indefinite period.

“By the constitution the responsibility of ministers was established, and their duties are to carry out the laws of the colony and to administer the business of the country according to the wishes of the parliament. The governor acts solely by and with their advice. Should an emergency fraught with danger to the country arise, for which the law makes no provision, ministers act on their own responsibility, and will be prepared to answer for their acts to that body whose representatives they are.

“His Excellency the governor has, most properly, drawn attention to the evils of a dual system of adminis-

tration, which ministers entirely agree with his Excellency in deprecating. They would observe that the government of the country being by the constitution vested in a governor and a responsible ministry, to hand over the control of the colonial forces and the conduct of military operations within or adjacent to the colony to an officer not accountable to the government of the country, and not in any way controlled by them, would be giving practical effect to dual government of the worst kind."

At the governor's instance the opinion of Mr. Stockenström, the attorney-general, had been asked for, but as he was in Capetown it could not be given until the 4th of February, when it was too late to be of any use except for historical purposes. It was as follows:

"In my opinion governor's commission as commander-in-chief places under his control all her Majesty's troops stationed in this colony, but does not give him any power as commander-in-chief over the frontier armed and mounted police, the volunteers, or burghers. Over these colonial forces he has no greater authority than is vested in him by the various acts of parliament under which they are embodied; and the powers so vested in him by these acts he cannot now constitutionally exercise, except with the concurrence and under the advice of his ministers. Consequently the governor cannot, except with the consent of the latter, embody the colonial forces with those of her Majesty. . . . In my opinion, the appointment of a commandant-general to direct the action of volunteers and police engaged in the colony in the suppression of rebellion is not illegal."

At the meeting of the executive council on the 2nd of February, as Mr. Molteno maintained the views embodied in the minute quoted above, the governor informed him that he would accept his resignation. He had tendered it some days previously, when he realised that harmonious action was no longer possible, but the

governor had refused to receive it, and the offer had been withdrawn. He now declined to renew it, and Mr. Merriman acted in the same manner. The governor then informed them that from that date they would understand they continued in office only until their successors were appointed.

Mr. John Gordon (later Sir Gordon) Sprigg, a leading member of the opposition in parliament, undertook to form a new ministry, and four days later Messrs. Molteno and Merriman received from the civil commissioner of King-Williamstown letters worded as follows:

KING-WILLIAMSTOWN, 6th of February 1878.

"SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that by the authority vested in me as the Governor of this Colony I remove you from your office of . . ., and that from and after this date you will cease to hold the said office. I have instructed Mr. J. R. Innes, Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of King Williamstown, who will deliver this letter to you, to receive charge of your records, documents, or public property of any description appertaining to your office, and to give a receipt for the same. I have, &c.

(Signed) "H. B. FRERE."

The governor held that the dismissal of the prime minister did not necessarily involve the retirement of the other members of the ministry, and Messrs. Brownlee, White, and Stockenstrom were therefore informed that their resignations would be accepted if tendered. Mr. Brownlee, who was in King-Williamstown, tendered his at once, and so the office of secretary for native affairs became vacant. Dr. White, the treasurer, and Mr. Stockenstrom, the attorney-general, were in Capetown. At first they declined to communicate with the governor officially except through Mr. Molteno, but when that gentleman was no longer in office, Dr. White tendered his resignation, which was accepted. Mr. Stockenstrom

maintained that the dismissal of the prime minister involved his retirement without any further action, and he would not recede from that position, so was regarded as having vacated office.

In this manner the first ministry under responsible government in the Cape Colony was obliged to relinquish the duties it had undertaken, without an adverse vote of parliament, indeed with a good working majority at the close of the last session.

Under Mr. Molteno's guidance the colony had made a wonderful stride forward, compared with any advance in earlier years. Moderate men of both the leading European nationalities had the utmost confidence in him as a thoroughly honest and perfectly safe man, one who would not cause disaster by running any needless risks. His attitude towards confederation, as can be seen now better than at the time, was the wisest one: he did not want a mere linking together of states with different interests, with the heaviest portion of the burden of defence resting on the Cape Colony, but a real solid union that could only be brought about by time, and to which improved communication by wire and rail, friendly intercourse, and trading facilities would tend more than anything else. Different views are held as to the soundness of the principle for which he contended, but whether right or wrong, he believed he was maintaining the privileges and carrying out the duties of the colony, and therefore would not give way. Of him it can be said, without fear of contradiction, that there was no man of his time to whose memory more respect is due from South Africans than Mr. John Charles Molteno.

The ministry that succeeded consisted of Mr. John Gordon Sprigg, member of the house of assembly for East London, premier and colonial secretary, Mr. John Miller, member of the legislative council for the eastern province, treasurer, Mr. John Laing, member of the house of assembly for Fort Beaufort, commissioner of

crown lands and public works, Mr. William Ayliff, also member of the house of assembly for Fort Beaufort, secretary for native affairs, and Mr. Thomas Upington, an advocate of the supreme court practising in Capetown, for whom a seat in the house of assembly was found at Colesberg, attorney general. There was no representative of a western constituency in it, and none of the members were Dutch speakers. It was in full accord with the views of the governor, and announced as its first object the organisation of a competent defensive force for the protection of the eastern border.

On the 4th of February 1878 Lord Carnarvon retired from the office of secretary of state for the colonies, and was succeeded by Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who on the 21st of March wrote a despatch to Sir Bartle Frere, from which the following paragraphs are extracts:

“An important constitutional question is raised by it as to the power of the prime minister of the Cape Colony to appoint an Executive officer to take command of military operations without your consent as Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

“I cannot concur with Mr. Molteno if he holds that a minister has a right at any moment to appoint an officer unknown to the constitution without the sanction of Parliament, and in opposition to the judgment of the Governor, and to assign to him functions which would give him paramount authority above that of the Governor himself in all military matters, more especially after martial law had been proclaimed.

“It should be borne in mind that, in consequence of the peculiar conditions of the Colony and the adjacent territories, responsible government, as established at the Cape, has necessarily been made subject to a limitation not elsewhere required.

“ . . . in affairs such as those in which you have been recently engaged, your functions have been clearly defined by the terms of your commission.

“As the Queen’s High Commissioner you are ‘specially required and instructed to do all such things as you lawfully can to prevent the recurrence of any irruption into Her Majesty’s possessions of tribes inhabiting the adjacent territories, and to maintain those possessions in peace and safety.’ And ‘all the Queen’s officers and ministers, civil and military, are commanded and required to aid and assist you to this end.’”

The governor was still residing in a barrack in King-Williamstown, separated from his family and without the comforts and conveniences of his home in Capetown. He believed it to be his duty to remain on the frontier while the disturbances lasted, but at length the necessity of preparing for the meeting of parliament compelled him to return to the seat of government. On the 26th of March he left King-Williamstown, and in the afternoon of that day reached Alice, where he met a warm welcome at the Lovedale missionary institution. On the following afternoon by his desire the chief Oba and three or four hundred men of his clan, under the guidance of the author of these volumes, paid their respects to his Excellency, and were very kindly received and commended for their conduct in following the advice given to them by the government agent. The work being done at the institution was inspected, and was regarded as most satisfactory.

On the 28th the governor and his attendants went on to Fort Beaufort, and on the following evening reached Grahamstown, where the usual preparations had been made by the municipal authorities and the inhabitants to entertain him in a becoming manner. Two full days were passed here, and then his Excellency made the last stage of his land journey to Port Elizabeth, where a repetition of his entertainment at Grahamstown awaited him. The receptions and dinners and speechmakings, at which no one could excel Sir Bartle Frere in suavity of manner, being at length finished, his Excellency embarked

in the mail steamer, and arrived in Capetown on the 7th of April. He had been absent from the seat of government between seven and eight months.

Mr. Molteno had proposed to summon parliament to meet on the 21st of March, but the new ministry naturally needed more time to prepare the bills to be laid before it, and the session was only opened on the 10th of May. Throughout the country the liveliest interest was taken in the approaching struggle between the old and new ministries, some people maintaining that responsible government was a farce if an imperial officer, not accountable in any way to parliament or the ministry, was to have control of all colonial forces, while others held that a debt of gratitude was due to the governor for calling upon the general and the regular troops to protect the colony in the condition of unpreparedness in which it was when the disturbances occurred. Apart too from the actual points at issue, people were interested in the coming struggle because upon the decision of the parliament would rest whether the eminent and highly talented governor remained in South Africa or not. Nearly every one felt that the colony ranked higher among the British dependencies by having such a man as its head, and many believed that it would be a mistake to do anything that would cause his removal. Then too all the people of the eastern border, who naturally favoured the new ministry, and all the advocates of immediate confederation, who regarded Mr. Molteno as an obstacle in their way, lost sight of the constitutional question at issue, and allowed it to sink into insignificance in view of what to them was of much greater importance, the triumph of their own ideas. By them the meeting of parliament was anxiously awaited.

In the governor's opening speech there was no allusion to the subject that occupied all minds, which of course would have been out of place in it. It foreshadowed the

policy of disarmament, which was later to have such serious consequences, mentioned the temporary suspension of immigration from Europe owing to the war, and referred to confederation in the following terms:

“The attention of my ministers will be directed at an early opportunity towards approaching the neighbouring states and colonies, with a view to a joint and friendly investigation of such a basis as may provide a sound foundation for a satisfactory measure of confederation.”

The following bills were at once introduced:

For the better preservation of peace within the colony;

For the establishment of a colonial yeomanry force;

To provide for the organisation of the inhabitants of this colony for the defence thereof;

For the regulation of volunteer corps;

To organise, establish, and regulate a force for the better protection of life and property in the colony, to be called the Cape Mounted Rifles.

All of these were measures of great importance, and indicated that the new ministry was intent upon carrying out thoroughly its promise to the country. At the time the policy thus marked out was popular, and it had an influence upon the big debate that soon came on.

This was introduced by Mr. Merriman who, after due notice, moved on the 23rd of May that

“1. In the opinion of this house the control over the colonial forces is vested in his Excellency the governor only acting under the advice of ministers;

“2. That it was not within the constitutional functions of his Excellency the governor to insist on the control and supply of the colonial forces being placed under the military authorities, except with the consent of ministers;

“3. That the action taken by his Excellency the governor in that matter has been attended with results prejudicial to the colony, and has delayed the termination of the rebellion.”

This was seconded by Mr. Manuel.

The debate that followed showed not only great differences of opinion as to the constitutional bearing of what had occurred, but the widest possible divergence of views as to actual occurrences.

On the one side it was asserted that Messrs. Molteno and Merriman had ignored the governor in important matters, that they had in an illegal and unconstitutional manner directed the movements of colonial forces, not by way of advice to the governor, but upon their own responsibility alone, and that they had made appointments, including that of the commandant-general, without the sanction of the governor.

In the spirit of these views, Mr. Boyes, their extreme exponent, gave notice that when Mr. Merriman's proposition was put to the vote, he would move as an amendment that

"1. In the opinion of this house the conduct of the late ministers, and especially of the late commissioner of crown lands and public works, in wholly ignoring his Excellency the governor and assuming the control over the colonial forces, and as commander-in-chief directing aggressive movements and appointing officers without the concurrence, or even the knowledge, of his Excellency, was most unjustifiable;

"2. That the thanks of the colony, as represented by this house, are due to his Excellency the governor for causing the imperial and colonial forces to be supplied through one commissariat department, instead of having two supply departments competing with each other, and thus raising the price of provisions considerably, and that the conduct of the late ministers in this respect was unconstitutional, extravagant, and unwarrantable;

"3. That the action taken by the late ministers tended to increase the number of the queen's enemies, forced into rebellion tribes not otherwise disposed to be hostile, and that their conduct has in every way been indefensible, and has tended to prolong the war and rebellion."

On the other hand, Mr. Molteno maintained that so far from ignoring the governor, he had supplied his Excellency with all the information obtainable, that all telegrams, without a single exception, received by him in Capetown had been immediately forwarded, and that his Excellency was as well acquainted with every transaction as he was himself. Every effort possible had been made to get colonial forces together, the chief obstacle being that the burghers were unwilling to serve under military commanders who knew nothing whatever of the conditions of Kaffir warfare, but that by the middle of January a sufficient number had assembled on the frontier to deal with the rebellion without employing regular troops. There were at that time three thousand European volunteers and two thousand Fingos in the field, constituting a force ample for the purpose. In the threatening condition of things in Europe, caused by the war between Russia and Turkey, he thought the troops could be more usefully employed in other parts of the empire, though we should be none the less grateful to the authorities in England for sending them to our assistance when it was thought they were needed.

He asserted that the governor paid no heed to the advice given by the ministers, but contended that he had independent power as commander-in-chief over the colonial forces, and could do as he liked. The ministers held that in this, as in all other matters connected with the government of the colony, without any exception whatever, the governor was constitutionally bound to act only by and with the advice of his responsible ministers. Had he (Mr. Molteno) believed that the governor would persist in maintaining his views, he would have tendered his resignation forthwith, but suddenly at a meeting of the executive council he was informed that he was dismissed. This was the difference in their opinions regarding the matter: had the governor independent power as commander-in-chief, or was his power limited

by the necessity of acting only by the advice of ministers?

It has been said that the secretary of state for the colonies was of the same opinion in this matter as the governor himself, and this was made known to parliament before the close of the debate, the tone of which was thereafter affected by it. Mr. Molteno was thus contending for the full privileges of responsible government, which, according to Sir Michael Hicks Beach's decision, the colony did not possess at the time, and which it only acquired when the imperial troops were withdrawn. In such a case, the position of the late ministry was hopeless.

As for the appointment of Mr. Griffith as commandant-general of the colonial forces, Mr. Molteno maintained that he had consulted the governor, who did not refuse to give his consent, and that two days subsequently, when it was proposed to invest Mr. Griffith with the order of St. Michael and St. George, he suggested to his Excellency that the investiture should be delayed until the appointment was gazetted, which was agreed to. He contended therefore that his Excellency was a party to the appointment, and was fully cognisant of all that was going on.

Mr. Merriman maintained that he had been forced by circumstances to occupy the position of director of operations in the field, and that the governor had been a party to his taking that duty upon him.

Mr. Stockenstrom stated that no appointment of importance had been made without the governor's sanction. It was not usual to submit every trivial appointment to a governor, whose time was too valuable to be taken up with petty acts of detail, though as a matter of form such appointments were gazetted as being made by his authority. He challenged the new ministry to bring forward a single instance of the ordinary practice in such matters having been departed from.

Such in brief were the accusations on one side and the assertions on the other made by the opposing parties in the house of assembly, some members maintaining that the late ministry, or at least one member of it, for whose action all were responsible, had assumed illegal authority and had ignored the governor; others asserting in the most positive terms that his Excellency had been completely recognised and consulted in every instance. The question of the governor's special power in the Cape Colony, on account of the alleged incompleteness of responsible government here, was not brought under discussion.

On the 29th of May, when the debate was about to be resumed, the speaker, Sir David Tennant, ruled that the second and third paragraphs of Mr. Merriman's motion "could not be entertained by the house in the form in which they were presented, it being contrary to constitutional principle and parliamentary practice to move any direct censure of his Excellency the governor as the representative of the sovereign,—and it being held, by the authorities on parliamentary government, that the ministry in office are responsible for the action of his Excellency the governor." In accordance with this ruling, the speaker stated that "only the first paragraph of Mr. Merriman's motion was at present before the house, viz.: In the opinion of this house, the control of the colonial forces is vested in his Excellency the governor only acting under the advice of ministers."

This had the effect of delaying the debate until the 31st of May, when Mr. Merriman amended his motion by submitting the following clauses in place of those ruled as irregular:

"2. That it is not within the constitutional functions of his Excellency the governor to insist on the control and supply of the colonial forces being placed under the military authorities, except with the consent of ministers.

“3. That the assumption of the command of colonial forces by Sir A. Cunynghame in January last, contrary to the advice of ministers, was not justified or advisable under the existing circumstances.”

Upon this Mr. Maasdorp moved, and Mr. P. Watermeyer seconded, as an amendment, that “the house, having before it the papers connected with the late change of ministry, does not see that the doctrine that the governor controls the colonial forces under the advice of his ministry has been called in question by the governor, but, on the contrary, is strongly affirmed; and the house is of opinion that, under all the circumstances of the case, the removal from office of the late ministry was unavoidable.”

The debate was continued without any fresh argument being brought forward on either side, except that the ministers had agreed at the commencement of hostilities in Galekaland that the colonial forces should be placed under the command of General Sir Arthur Cunynghame, which authority had never been withdrawn from him, and the contention on the other side that there was a marked difference between a war in extra-colonial territory and rebellion in the colony itself.

At this stage the notice of motion standing in the name of Mr. Boyes was withdrawn, and on the 3rd of June Mr. Moore moved, and Mr. Louw seconded, as an amendment to Mr. Maasdorp's amendment:

“That in the opinion of this house the dismissal of the late ministry under the circumstances submitted by the government has not been justified.”

On the 6th of June the long debate came to an end. On that day Mr. Merrinan's motion was rejected, and Mr. Maasdorp's was carried by thirty-seven votes to twenty-two, when Mr. Moore's amendment of course dropped.

With such a large majority to support him, Mr. Sprigg had no difficulty in carrying the measures he deemed

necessary for the defence of the frontier districts. They consisted of

1. The establishment of a force to be called the Cape Mounted Yeomanry. By Act 5 of 1878 this was to consist of three regiments, not exceeding one thousand men in each, whose head-quarters were to be respectively King-Williamstown, Queenstown, and Uitenhage. They were to agree to serve for three years, and were liable to be called out for duty whenever needed and to remain in the field as long as required. They were to drill one day in every month and one week in every year. The government was to provide them with arms, ammunition, and camp equipage, and was to allow them £25 for the purchase of a horse, saddle, and bridle and £15 yearly for the maintenance of the horse during the second and third years. During the yearly drill and when on active service, they were to receive pay at the following rates: captains 15s., lieutenants 11s., surgeons 31s. 6d., sergeants 6s., corporals 5s., and privates 4s. a day. Each regiment was to be under the command of an officer to be termed lieutenant-colonel.

2. By Act 7 of 1878, entitled "to provide for the organisation of the inhabitants of this colony for the defence thereof," all burghers between the ages of eighteen and fifty years were to be enrolled, and, with certain exceptions, were made liable in case of need to be called out for service. They were to be divided into two classes: the first consisting of those from eighteen to thirty years of age, and the second those from thirty to fifty. They were at liberty to elect their own officers, and when on service were to be provided with material of war and to be paid at the following rates: commandants 20s., captains 15s., mounted privates 4s., and unmounted men 3s., a day. Coloured inhabitants were also made liable to be called out, and under the name of levies were to be paid 2s. 6d. a day when on active service.

3. By Act 9 of 1878 the frontier armed and mounted police were made subject to much stricter discipline than previously, and thereafter were to be termed the Cape Mounted Riflemen. They, of course, were to be constantly on duty, and were regarded as the first line of defence, all the others being auxiliaries, to be called out only if needed.

4. Act 10 of 1878 provided for the regulation of volunteer corps. It encouraged their formation, exempted them from duty as ordinary burghers, made them subject to be called out for service, and regulated their payment and the supply of rations for themselves and their horses when in the field.

These several acts gave the government command of a military force extending in the last resort to practically nearly every man capable of bearing arms in the colony. But the cost was enormous, £75,000 for horses alone for the yeomanry regiments, and to meet it new taxes were imposed.

1. By Act 2 of 1878 an excise duty was imposed of one shilling per imperial gallon upon spirits distilled or manufactured within the colony. This met with much opposition, on account of its inquisitorial nature in a country where every vinedresser was a distiller, and its falling upon one section of the people only. Some of the most thoughtful men in parliament opposed it because they foresaw the bitter racial feeling that it would create, but it was carried, and the farmers' protection union, followed by the Afrikaner bond was the result.

2. Act 18 of 1878 increased the customs duties on spirits, tobacco, and confectionery imported. This was not objected to by any one, and was rather favoured by the farming population as a protective measure.

3. Act 20 of 1878 imposed a duty upon all houses and buildings, if under the value of £100 of 10s. a year, from £100 to £500 20s., from £500 to £750 30s.,

from £750 to £1,000 40s., and for every £250 or fraction of £250 above £1,000 20s. additional.

Another measure introduced by Mr. Sprigg and adopted by parliament in 1878 led three years later to disastrous consequences to the ministry that favoured it. This was Act 13 "for the better preservation of peace within the colony," popularly known as the disarmament act. It provided that the governor might by proclamation name any district within which no arms of any kind might be possessed without a license. All guns, pistols, assagais, and other implements of war were thereupon to be surrendered to the magistrate of the district, who would grant receipts for them, and as soon as their value could be appraised, that amount would be paid to those who had owned them. As will be seen in further chapters, this act might with more propriety have been termed "for the promotion of discontent and war within the colony," but in political matters things do not always have their right names given to them, and when this act was passed its framers could not foresee its consequences. They were as yet without experience, and were much less cautious than Mr. Molteno would have been.

CHAPTER VI.

SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION OF THE RARABE CLANS.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Kentani Sandile with his followers recrossed the Kei and occupied the rugged country along the lower course of the Thomas river, which was well adapted for defensive purposes. There they might hope to hold out as long as their food and ammunition lasted, and that was enough to give them confidence, as they did not look far into the future.

Their presence in the Thomas river valley was soon made known to the colonists. On the 23rd of February a detachment of one hundred and eighty Queenstown volunteers, sixty-five Hottentot levies, and a hundred Fingos, under Captain Harvey, that was out on patrol, was at breakfast on the bank of the river, when it was suddenly attacked by from eight hundred to a thousand Gaikas under Sandile's son Matanzima, who rushed upon it in a determined manner. Most of them were armed with assagais only, but some had guns, which they fired without doing any damage, as they almost invariably aimed too high or shut their eyes when they pulled the trigger. The volunteers and levies had their rifles beside them, and were not unprepared, as the insurgents believed they would be. They were therefore able to pour in a deadly fire, which checked the onrush of Matanzima's men, who fell back, but soon rallied and came on again. The ground was of such a nature that the Kaffirs were not fully exposed during the whole of the engagement, which lasted two hours before they fled, carrying their wounded with them. One hundred and twenty-eight dead bodies were counted on the field, equal to one-seventh or one-eighth of the number

that attacked, and many others were believed to have died afterwards of their wounds. The Gaikas seemed to have lost their old skill in hurling assagais, for, though some of them were several times within fifty metres distance, only one volunteer was hurt.

Reports were now received that a powerful force was being collected by Tini, son of Makoma, in the Waterkloof, and that cattle thefts were being carried on in the district of Fort Beaufort to an extent that could hardly be exceeded by losses in open war. Mr. William B. Chalmers, civil commissioner of Cradock, who had been acquainted with these people since his childhood, was therefore sent by the government to Fort Beaufort to ascertain the exact condition of matters, and he found things quite as bad as represented. Tini had fully a thousand Gaika warriors with him in the strongholds of the Waterkloof, where under colonial law he had been enabled to purchase ground and take up his residence.

Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer, of the ninetieth regiment, whose head-quarters were at Fort Beaufort, was now directed to clear the Waterkloof, and volunteers in sufficient number were sent to make up his active force to twelve hundred men. On the 4th of March he commenced operations, but met with hardly any resistance. Tini was not the courageous guerilla leader that his father had been; he seemed anxious only to get out of danger, and his men followed his example. He and they managed to make their escape from the Waterkloof and conceal themselves in the Amatola forest, so that Colonel Palmer without any loss scoured the strongholds held so long by Makoma in the previous war. There was not much spoil to gather, and when the huts were burned and posts were formed to prevent the return of the Gaikas, the remainder of the force retired.

On the 25th of February 1878 Lieutenant-General the honourable Frederick Augustus Thesiger, C.B. (later Lord Chelmsford), arrived at the Cape as successor to

Sir Arthur Cunynghame, and on the 4th of March he assumed at King-Williamstown the command of the imperial troops and the colonial forces.

He found an expedition under Commandant-General Griffith about to march against Sandile in the Thomas River valley. On the 8th of March this expedition entered the valley and began to scour it, but the men who had only a fortnight before attacked Captain Harvey with such determination seemed to have lost all heart, and made only a very feeble resistance. Seventy of them were killed, without any loss on the colonial side, and twelve hundred head of cattle, which they depended upon for food, were captured. Sandile himself, his sons, and some eight hundred of his men managed to elude the colonial forces and escape to the westward, the next thing that was known of them being that they were in the Perie bush.

A reward of £500 was now offered for the capture of Sandile, and an attempt was made to surround that portion of the forest occupied by the rebels and either make them prisoners or destroy them. From the 10th to the 17th of March the troops and colonial forces were engaged in this task, but the area of operations was so extensive and the ground was so difficult for Europeans to traverse that they met with much less success than they hoped for. The principal events of these days occurred on the 11th and 15th of March. On the 11th a portion of the division of volunteers under Commandant Frederick Schermbrucker fell in with a party of Gaikas, with whom they had two skirmishes, killing nine of them, but losing a very promising young man named Hillier, of Bowker's rovers, and having another wounded. They managed to secure three hundred head of horned cattle, two hundred and ninety sheep, and four horses. On the 15th Lieutenant Andrews, of the George volunteers, with thirty of his own men and twenty-seven of the Stutterheim German police encountered about two

hundred Gaikas under Matanzima, most of whom managed to get away, but fifty-five took shelter in a small thicket. There they were surrounded and prevented from moving out until reinforcements from Commandant Frost's division, under Captain Ella, arrived, when, as they would not surrender, they were all shot. Captain Ella and three of the volunteers were wounded, but no lives were lost on the colonial side.

General Thesiger then arranged the forces under his command differently, but still on the same plan of surrounding the rebels and then scouring the country enclosed. He had at his disposal for this purpose five hundred and fifty-five infantry, one thousand one hundred and eighty-five cavalry, one thousand two hundred and fifty-nine Fingos, and four seven-pounder guns, in addition to a company of soldiers under Colonel Law, of the royal artillery, who had also with him thirty-two marines and twenty-four sailors with two twenty-four pounder rocket tubes, under Lieutenant Craigie, of the royal navy. The remainder of the naval brigade had embarked at East London in the transport *Himalaya* on the 16th of March to return to the *Active* in Simon's Bay. The troops and volunteers were formed in six divisions, led respectively by Lieutenant-Colonel Evelyn Wood, V.C., C.B., Lieutenant-Colonel Degacher, of the second battalion of the twenty-fourth regiment, Commandant J. (later Sir John) Frost, Commandant Schermbrucker, Commandant Venter, and Commandant Brabant. On the 18th of March operations were commenced, but were impeded by heavy rain unusually cold for that time of year, which lasted with short intervals for four days, and caused great discomfort to those who were without blankets or shelter. There was also such difficulty in conveying other food than beef to some of the divisions that they were suffering from hunger as well.

On the 19th Captain Bradshaw was killed while leading a party of Fingos who were scouring a ravine, and on

the 21st two officers of the diamond field horse, Captain Donovan and Lieutenant Ward, met the same fate. The attempt to capture or destroy the rebels failed, and on the 21st was abandoned. Between sixty and seventy Kaffirs, however, had been killed, and sixty horses and two hundred head of cattle had been captured. On the colonial side, in addition to the three officers above named, one soldier and four Fingos were killed, and four volunteers and seven Fingos were wounded.

No men were made prisoners, but before the colonial forces retired about five hundred Kaffir women and children came out of the forest and threw themselves upon the mercy of the white men, begging piteously for food, as they said they were starving. Their emaciated appearance confirmed this statement, so there was no doubt that they told the truth. The question then arose what was to be done with them, for humanity forbade their being driven away and left to perish, and on the other hand prudence forbade their being supplied with provisions where they were. Such women formed the intelligence department of the Kaffir army. They knew they had nothing to fear from white men, and they took care to avoid the Fingos, who would not have scrupled to maltreat them. A Kaffir woman's duty is to find food for her husband, even if she has to do with very little herself, and it was certain that if for instance a few biscuits were given to one of them, the largest share would be conveyed to the chief Sandile, a somewhat smaller share to her husband, and only what was then left would be eaten by the children and herself. Who that knows these people has not been shocked by seeing strong men taking the most and best of what there is, while women and children wait patiently and express their thanks for whatever remains when the men are satiated? Another reason why these women could not be provided for and permitted to remain at large was that they served as spies and communicated to the

men in the forest intelligence of every movement made by the colonial forces. And still another reason was that maize was then exceedingly dear in the eastern districts, being sold at £3 a muid, or about 8½d. a kilogramme. At the planting time and long after no rain had fallen, and consequently there were no crops that season, which caused the scarcity. In many parts of the country too transport was made impossible by an extraordinary plague of caterpillars, that devoured every green thing, and left the ground as bare as a rock. Where the moths came from that produced the caterpillars no one could tell, they had suddenly appeared in vast swarms in places hundreds of miles apart, and filled the air almost like locusts.

These causes combined to prevent the placing of the famished women and children in concentration camps, and keeping them on the frontier. Those that appealed for food on the outskirts of the Perie were supplied temporarily from the commissariat stores, but were placed under guard and not permitted to leave until the government could decide what to do with them. The government resolved to send them to Capetown, where they would be out of the way of doing harm, and then they were taken to East London and placed on board a coasting steamer. The same course was adopted with those who were found in a similar condition afterwards, until nearly four thousand Kaffir women and children were forwarded to the west. A few old men and some cripples were dealt with in the same manner, the total number of both sexes and all ages removed to Capetown by sea during the rebellion being three thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight. The mortality during the short passage was high, as the poor creatures were in very low condition when they went on board and almost without exception suffered severely from sea sickness, but it would have been vastly higher if they had been left to look after themselves.

On arriving in Capetown they were taken to a very large building in the southern suburb, and were placed under the care of Dr. Clinton, who had charge of the place. There they soon regained flesh, and in the course of a month were as strong and thoughtless as ever. The government imported maize from South America, which cost less than a third of the price on the frontier, and maize meal from the United States, which with butchers' meat once a week, and pumpkins when they could be obtained, constituted their diet. They had never in their lives before had a better or more regular supply of food. As soon as they were quite strong they were moved in parties of three or four hundred together to stations in the country districts, where they could be more comfortable than in Capetown. No direct pressure was put upon them to enter service, but as it was clearly to their advantage to do so, most of them voluntarily engaged as domestics. Beyond food, lodging, medical attendance, and a blanket for each individual, the government provided them with nothing, and they craved for handkerchiefs to cover their heads with and for pipes and tobacco, which most Kaffir women regard as essentials of comfortable existence. To obtain these they were willing to enter into service, and the government was equally willing that they should do so.

But it was never their intention to remain long in the western districts, and as soon as the cold winter weather was over and they could sleep without discomfort in the open air, they began to desert and make their way back to the scenes of their childhood, where they could see the peak of Intaba-ka-Ndoda and drink the sweet water of the Keiskama once more. The long walk of five or six hundred miles had no terror for them. They would beg from the farmers or would work for a day or a week on the road to get food for a few days more, and then push on, ever eastward, until at last the mountain they knew so well rose before them.

eyes, and they felt that they were at home once more. Home! the land through which the Keiskama flowed could never be their home again. Many, very many of them found themselves widows, for a large proportion of the Gaika men had perished, and those that remained alive had no home except beyond the Kei. Then they became scattered, some of them took service in the frontier districts, others found their way over the Kei to Kentani, others again formed new connections with clans alien to the Gaikas. In 1879 the government sent those who had not taken service back to the east, and with this act the narrative of the removal of the families of the rebels to a distant locality ends. It seems perhaps a cruel measure, but it was necessary for the prosecution of military operations, and it certainly saved many hundreds of lives.

During the remainder of March there were no further operations against the Gaikas, but some successes were gained elsewhere. On the 23rd of the month Major Elliot with some European volunteers and a band of Gangelizwe's Tembus inflicted a crushing defeat upon Stokwe, when sixty of that petty chief's men were killed, and twelve hundred head of horned cattle, two hundred horses, and two thousand sheep were captured. He and the remnant of his clan were driven out of Maxongo's Hoek, and his kraals with everything in them were burnt.

On the 28th Commandant Von Linsingen with three hundred volunteers and six hundred Fingos moved towards the Tshalumna district east of the lower Keiskama to attack the Gunukwebes under Delima, son of Pato, who had gone into rebellion without being able to assign any reason for doing so, and who had since been plundering the farms in that part of the country, from which the owners had been compelled to remove. On the 31st he was successful in a skirmish and captured nearly two thousand head of cattle, and on the following day by a skilful

movement he succeeded in capturing about a thousand head more and killed thirty-one of the herdsmen, without any loss to himself.

It was at this stage, when the hopelessness of success by the rebels should have been apparent to every one possessing eyes and ears, that the Ndlambe chief Jali, son of Umkayi, and the Dushane chief Siyolo threw in their lot with the enemies of the government. Nothing could show more forcibly how similar the minds of adult barbarians are in such matters to those of little children, who rush into acts without the slightest reflection of what the consequences may be. Jali was half a simpleton, but old Siyolo was a man of such large and varied experience in war and had suffered so much and so often in his own person for having fought against the colonial government in former years, that the smallest atom of prudence should have prevented him from acting as he now did.

Jali and his men managed to make their way into the forest back of Intaba-ka-Ndoda, and Siyolo, having been joined by some of the followers of his half-brother Siwani and some men of William Shaw Kama's clan, attempted to follow him. When he reached the Debe neck, within a very short distance of his destination, he had twelve hundred men with him and a herd of cattle intended for food, but there he came in contact with a patrol of the diamond field horse, seventy-five in number, under Colonel Warren, of the royal engineers. Against well mounted men in the open field the Kaffirs stood no chance at all, their only hope of safety lay in dispersing and trying to reach broken ground, which they succeeded in doing, but left fifty-eight dead men behind, among whom were two sons of Siyolo. They were obliged also to abandon about three hundred head of their commissariat cattle. It was believed that many of those who escaped were more or less severely wounded, but of this there was of course no certainty. The women and children left behind at their kraals were collected together and sent to East

London to be forwarded by steamer to Capetown, and the location ground was confiscated.

Of the Rarabe clans there were few that were not now broken up. The Imidange were all in arms against the white man, but their number was so small that it mattered very little what part they took. The Amantinde professed to be loyal, but they too had dwindled into insignificance. On the 30th of March the old chief Toyise died, and during his illness and the period of mourning after his death custom and etiquette required his clan to sit still, possibly they would have done so under any circumstances. Siwani, who had always conducted himself to the satisfaction of the government, and the Christian chief William Shaw Kama, who, on the death of his father on the 25th of October 1875 succeeded as head of the clan, remained loyal,—the former even sent some men to assist the government,—but many of their people had joined Siyolo. All the others of any note have been accounted for.

On the 3rd of April a thousand Fingos arrived from the Transkei under Mr. James Ayliff, and on the 5th the work of scouring the Perie bush began again. Very few Xosas were found in it, as the great majority of them had gone farther westward, but most of those that were seen were killed. Their number by this time was so diminished that even with the accessions brought by Tini, Jali, and Siyolo they were not nearly as strong as they had been when Sandile listened to the appeal of Kiva, and by so doing brought destruction upon his people. Their ammunition was almost expended, their food was uncertain and scanty, they were without shelter in the forest, and they seemed to have lost all courage, for they tried only to get away when the white men or Fingos were near. Yet they refused to surrender while their chiefs had no assurance of safety and personal liberty.

On the 6th of April the forest back of Intaba-ka-Ndoda was scoured by the Fingos, and several Kaffirs

were killed, among them being the chief Jali, whose career as a rebel was thus very short. But the efforts repeatedly made to enclose the insurgents in a limited space and then deal with them always failed, because the forest was of such great extent that the Kaffirs, who could move about in it far more easily than Europeans, managed to make their way through the cordon and escape to another part. It would have needed a force ten times as great as was at any time in the field to prevent them from doing this.

Much greater success attended the colonial forces operating against the hostile Tembus. Gongubela was captured, and on the 8th of April was brought a prisoner to Queenstown with thirteen of his men. In less than a fortnight later Stokwe and Umfanta were also captured, and thereafter all resistance ceased in the part of the country they had occupied.

A new plan for dealing with the rebel Xosas was now adopted by Lieutenant-General Thesiger. On the 17th of April he divided the territory occupied by them into eleven military districts, each of which was placed under a commandant, with a force sufficient to prevent the rebels from having any rest. When it was found that they were congregating in any particular locality reinforcements were sent there to harass them, and their retreats were scoured by the Fingos, while at proper positions volunteers and soldiers were stationed to intercept them when they tried to get away. The Fingos, under Commandants Lonsdale, Streatfeild, and Allan Maclean became adepts in hunting the Xosas in the forest, and in securing every head of cattle intended for food, till the rebels were well nigh starved. All their women and children were gradually captured and sent to the west, some of the children so emaciated that they died after eating food.

The principal drives under this system took place from the 30th of April to the 8th of May. The

number of Xosas killed and wounded was very great, but as they managed to slip away and conceal themselves, carrying their wounded and some of their dead with them, no correct estimate can be given. Three hundred and twenty-eight dead bodies were seen and counted in different parts of the field of operations during these days, which, without going further, was a very heavy loss to the insurgents. Only eleven adult male prisoners were taken, for they declined all invitations to surrender. On the European side the losses were considerable also. One military officer, six volunteers, and eight soldiers were killed, and fully double that number were wounded. About twenty Fingos were either killed outright or died afterwards from wounds.

The diamond field horse under Colonel Warren took a prominent part in these operations, but on the 14th of May it was obliged to leave to return to Griqualand West to aid in suppressing a rebellion of the combined Griquas, Koranas, and Batlapin there.

The greater number of the rebels were now absolutely without other food than such wild plants as were to be found in the forest, so they were obliged to leave the Amatola fastnesses and disperse in small parties over the open country. In such a desperate condition, hunted night and day, any other people would have surrendered at once, but as long as their chiefs were not promised pardon and liberty they would not give themselves up. Sandile sent twice to the nearest military post to ask for peace, probably hoping that lenient terms would be offered to him, as had been the case before. But the government was determined to stamp out rebellion thoroughly, and so the only answer given to the chief was that he must surrender unconditionally. This he declined to do, and so hunting the insurgents as if they were jackals went on.

Before the 28th of May one hundred and sixty-nine of those who had left the forest were killed and forty-

five were made prisoners. On that day Tini was captured by a patrol of Fingos three miles from Fort Beaufort, as he was trying to get into the Waterkloof again, where he hoped to be able to conceal himself and obtain the means of existence by plunder. He was in a miserable condition when discovered and arrested, but was able to put on the appearance of a stoic, as a Kaffir chief was bound to do. He was not by any means the best specimen of a Xosa, still he was not without good qualities, and though his conduct must be condemned, it should be remembered that it was the faulty colonial law that gave him the opportunity to act as he did.

On the 29th of May a patrol of Commandant Lonsdale's Fingos when scouring a portion of the forest came across a party of Gaikas at Isidengi hill. Neither the Fingos nor the two white men leading them knew who the men they suddenly came upon were, and it was only some days later that it was discovered they were no other than Sandile and his body-guard. Among them was one in European clothing, with a good rifle, which he knew how to use most skilfully. Two of the Fingos were killed and four were wounded by him, before he fell a corpse. He was Dukwana, the son of Ntsikana, a man from whose influence much benefit to his countrymen was expected before his chief went into rebellion, when he felt an obligation to turn against the government also. "He was a great man, he was faithful unto death," was the judgment of a Gaika upon him long afterwards. An Englishman cannot say this, but he can surely feel some sympathy with one who could brave discomfort of every kind and face death itself in the execution of what he believed to be his duty.

Fifteen other corpses were counted before the patrol moved on, but one mortally wounded man was concealed by the surviving Gaikas and remained undiscovered. A week later a Kaffir, who was made prisoner, gave

information that his chief Sandile was dead. After the engagement at Isidengi in which he had been shot nothing could be done for him, though he lived several days. Then he died, and so closely pressed were those with him by the parties scouring the forest that they could not even bury the body, but had thrown some leaves over it as all they could do to protect it. At the time of the engagement the chief was trying to make his way out of the forest and get to the Thomas river, where his sons Matanzima and Edmund, who had gone in advance, were in hiding. The prisoner described the place where the body was lying so minutely that Captain John Landrey, who was sent with a party to ascertain if the account was correct, had no difficulty in finding and identifying it. This was on the 7th of June.

Commandant Schermbrucker then with some volunteers and soldiers and five hundred Fingos proceeded to the spot. The body was examined by Dr. Everitt, who found that a snider bullet had passed through the stomach and splintered two of the ribs. From the appearance of the wounded parts he judged that the chief had lived three or four days after being shot, and that he had been dead about four days. The left side of the face and the right arm had been eaten by some wild animal. Commandant Schermbrucker caused a grave to be dug, and in presence of the soldiers, volunteers, and Fingos, at eleven o'clock in the morning of the 9th of June the body of the principal leader in the rebellion was laid at rest.

So perished the last of the direct line of the Rarabe chiefs, Sandile the son of Sutu, great wife of Gaika, great son of Umlawu, great son of Rarabe, right hand son of Palo, in whose time the Xosas occupied the country west of the Kei. Not one of his own people saw him laid in the grave, they were all his foemen who stood there. That he had brought this miserable fate upon himself, and that he had ruined and destroyed

his people, may have been his dying thoughts, no one can tell.

That his followers were devoted to him has been shown, as also that he had nothing but birth to entitle him to their regard. According to our ideas he had not even that, for not a drop of the blood of Rarabe flowed in his veins. According to Bantu ideas he was Gaika's great son because he was the son of Gaika's great wife, though all men knew that his natural father was not Gaika. Born in 1821, he was fifty-seven years of age when he died at Isidengi hill.

At almost the same time as the death of Sandile, Siyolo was killed. He was endeavouring to get into the Fish river bush with his followers when he met his fate. On the 10th of June old Anta, Sandile's half-brother and head of an important clan, died. During the rebellion he had professed to be loyal to the government, though many of his people took part with the insurgents. On the 11th of June Ndimba, finding he could hold out no longer, went into Komgha, and surrendered to the magistrate there. The only men of any note who still held out, or rather who still tried to conceal themselves, for they no longer attempted to attack or even resist, were the Gunukwebe chief Delima, who had no influence whatever beyond his own clan, and who surrendered on the 30th of July, and Matanzima and Edmund, the sons of Sandile. These two were discovered and apprehended on the 1st of July.

Nothing now remained to be done except to ferret out and apprehend or kill the miserable men who were roaming about in a starving condition, without leaders or other object than to escape detection and obtain food of any kind to support life. It is very easy to talk of mercy, but men who were longing to return to their homes and ordinary occupations, and who were unable to do so while hungry robbers were prowling about, of

whose presence the country must be freed before agriculture could be resumed or cattle be kept in safety, were apt to be forgetful of its dictates. It is thus very likely that Kaffirs were shot who might have been made prisoners if sufficient trouble had been taken, though there is no positive proof that this was the case. After the loss of their leaders, the rebels became bewildered and did not know what to do. They ought to have surrendered at once and trusted to the government to deal leniently with them, may be said, but in their stupefied state they could not make up their minds to do this. And so some hundreds were ferreted out and shot down as if they were noxious animals, and a few were made prisoners.

The government could not long sanction this, and on the 29th of June an amnesty was proclaimed to all who would report themselves and give up their arms. The intelligence spread rapidly among the famished creatures that if they would return to obedience their past misdeeds would be forgiven, and a ray of light dawned on them once more. Many of them complied immediately, and with their submission the rebellion ended.

No such insurrection had ever been more thoroughly suppressed. It was computed that about eight thousand men had been engaged in it—the exact number was of course uncertain—and of those more than half had been killed outright or had died afterwards of wounds. The principal chiefs who had taken part in it were all dead or in prison, and of their families and leading adherents few remained alive. Their cattle and other property of every kind had been lost, so that those of them who survived were absolutely destitute. And the object for which they had fought, the retention of chieftainship or in other words independence of European control, was irrecoverably defeated, for the government had decided that west of the Kei there should no longer be chiefs having power derived from birth alone.

On the colonial side sixty Europeans and one hundred and thirty-three Fingos had lost their lives, and fully as many had been wounded, but recovered. The cost in money of the suppression of the rebellion was heavy for a colony that needed every penny of its revenue for internal improvements: by Act 24 of 1878 the government was empowered by parliament to borrow £750,000 to cover part of the expense, and the interest on this sum was thereafter a charge upon the taxpayers. When the accounts were finally made up and audited, it was found that in round numbers £1,200,000 had been paid out directly by the colonial treasury, besides which the excess expenditure of the imperial government from the 1st of August 1877 to the 31st of July 1878, caused by the war and rebellion in South Africa, was £534,910, chargeable to the colony.

It has been mentioned that Dukwana and a few other professing Christians took part in the rebellion. But the number of those who did so was exceedingly small compared with the whole number of converts, the great majority of whom remained loyal to the government. They requested indeed not to be called upon to fight against their erring kinsmen, but this was regarded by the authorities as so natural and reasonable that it was unhesitatingly complied with. The only members of any Rarabe clan that actually fought on the colonial side were some three hundred of Siwani's men, who on account of the old feud with Siyolo were ready to avenge themselves on that chief's adherents. The Christian Bantu in general conducted themselves in an orderly manner, and gave little or no trouble to the magistrates.

On the 28th of June Mr. Sprigg, the prime minister, gave notice of motion in the house of assembly "that the thanks of this house be given to his Excellency Lieutenant-General the honourable Frederick Augustus Thesiger, C.B., Commodore Francis William Sullivan,

C.B., C.M.G., and her Majesty's imperial army, navy, and royal marines in South Africa, and to Charles Duncan Griffith, C.M.G., and her Majesty's colonial forces in South Africa, for the eminent services rendered by them in quelling the war and rebellion beyond and within the frontier of this colony, now happily brought to a close by the official announcement of an amnesty."

On the 1st of July this motion was seconded by Mr. J. C. Molteno and was agreed to without opposition, and on the 3rd of that month its substance was conveyed to Lieutenant-General Thesiger and Commodore Sullivan in person by the speaker of the house, and was by them suitably responded to. Commandant-General Griffith was on the frontier at the time, but the thanks of the house were conveyed to him by letter.

There was now an opportunity of dealing with the Bantu in the colony in a more decided manner than at any time since 1860. Sir George Grey's plan of weakening the influence of the chiefs by giving them pensions in return for their surrender of judicial power was supposed to be in full operation, but in fact it had long ceased to be in force. The chiefs drew their pensions regularly, but had managed to recover a great deal of their old judicial authority, owing to the small number of European officials placed over them, and often to those officials being inexperienced or incompetent men. There were in 1877 only two classes of crime that such chiefs as Sandile, Anta, Oba, Fini, and the others did not venture to deal with, which were those to which the death penalty was attached and those connected with charges of dealing in witchcraft. With the latter class they did not deal openly, but certainly did so secretly. For instance, if an individual was believed to be guilty of causing a death or disaster by witchcraft, his hut was burnt down at night and his cattle disappeared, by the order, or at least with the sanction, of the chief, though no public sentence had been pronounced.

In all other cases they acted just as their fathers had done before them. They decided in the intricate disputes connected with the marriage laws, they punished their adherents for assault or theft, and they appropriated to their own use any fines that they inflicted. Legally they could not do this, and they had no means of enforcing their decisions, but they were supported by their people, and it would have fared ill with any one who disobeyed their orders. Such a person would have become an outcast among his own relatives, and would have found no one willing to associate with him. For they were a conservative people, who clung to their own laws and customs, and who derided the principles of an English court of justice. That a man on trial should be told that he need not say anything to criminate himself, that he should not be cross-questioned and made to account for all his actions, seemed to them so utterly absurd that in speaking of it they were provoked to bursts of laughter. Or that every man living in a kraal to which a stolen ox was traced should not be held accountable for it, though only one of them had driven it there, seemed to them like perversion of justice, because all must have known, or ought to have known, of the theft, and when it was killed all would partake of the flesh. Thus there was very little respect for the European courts, and a strong national feeling in favour of the chiefs, which induced the people to refer their disputes to the heads and counsellors of their clans.

The government now resolved that this must cease in the country west of the Kei. Small locations were established, and placed under the charge of European officials, who were required to keep strict supervision over the residents in them, and who might act as arbitrators in civil cases, but all criminal cases were to be tried by the resident magistrate of the district, or by a judge of the supreme court if they were sufficiently serious. In the centre of the part of the colony most densely populated

by Bantu an official termed the special magistrate of Tamacha was retained with greatly increased power, whose duties were to preserve order by means of a strong force of police and to decide all civil cases, including all connected with the marriage customs, according to Bantu law. The author of these volumes, who filled this office at a critical time, can testify that it was anything but a sinecure.

Galekaland, that is the territory taken from Kreli between the Kei and Bashee rivers, from Fingoland and Idutywa to the sea, was divided into two districts, termed thereafter Willowvale and Kentani. This was conquered territory, not yet annexed to the colony, but which was regarded and treated as a colonial dependency. The "loyal Gaikas," that is, those under the leadership of Fini, son of Tyali, Kona, son of Makoma, the old counsellor Tyala, and many of those belonging to the clan of the recently deceased chief Anta, who had separated from their relatives under Sandile when he went into rebellion, had ground assigned to them in the district of Kentani. Many of them were very reluctant to remove, and questioned the justice of the measure. Tyala said he preferred to die, and borne down with grief for the loss of his chief and his clan, the old man actually did die the day before the removal took place. Ten acres of arable land were assigned under individual tenure to each head of a family, with grazing rights over an extensive commonage. This was known to be much more than necessary, as the district was one of the most fertile in South Africa, but the government was desirous of treating these people with the greatest liberality.* Four blocks of land, each twenty thousand

* When the first census was taken in Pondoland it was found that there were twelve and a third acres of ground to each individual, but much of it was fit only for pasture. In the chief magistracy of Tembuland there were seventeen and two-fifths, but the population in many parts was scanty. In the chief magistracy of Griqualand East where there were large areas almost uninhabited, the average was

English acres in extent, were laid out in allotments for their use. Those who went first numbered one thousand and nineteen men, two thousand two hundred and seventy-eight women, and four thousand three hundred and sixty-seven children, but there were many of both sexes in service with Europeans at the time, and these were sent on afterwards as their contracts expired. The removal of the first large party was timed so that they should reach their destination at the beginning of the planting season, and the government provided them with the necessary seed. They were required to surrender all their arms of every kind before they set out on the journey, but were paid the appraised value in money, and they were supplied with food and means of transport for their household effects. Mr. Matthew B. Shaw, a son of the reverend William Shaw, the Wesleyan missionary who had come to South Africa with the British settlers of 1820, was appointed magistrate of the district of Kentani, and assumed duty on the 1st of October. The only legal power which he could exercise was derived from a commission which he held under the Act 26 and 27 Victoria, cap. 35,—the amended South Africa punishment act,—but in practice he assumed full magisterial jurisdiction, which was not questioned by any one.

The whole of the old Gaika location west of the Kei thus became vacant. It was divided into farms, which were sold on quitrent tenure by public auction to Europeans, so that the colony gained that tract of land in reality by the rebellion. It is included in the district of Cathcart.

Some of those Galekas who were roaming about homeless beyond the Bashee now surrendered their arms and professed their willingness to come under colonial magistrates, and were located in the district of Willowvale.

twenty-nine acres and two-fifths. It would of course be much less now in all parts of the territory between the Kei and Natal.

The people of Mapasa were also located there. Mr. F. N. Streatfeild, who had performed good service as a commandant of Fingos during the rebellion, was appointed magistrate of the district, and assumed duty on the 2nd of January 1879. His powers *de jure* and *de facto* were the same as those of Mr. Shaw.

Some areas of land in the districts of Kentani and Willowvale were reserved for occupation by Europeans, but before they could be given out circumstances arose which frustrated that plan. The women and children sent to the west were returning, and some of them found their way over the Kei and swelled the population of Kentani. Oba's people were going back to the frontier too, and though the farm Aberdeen in the district of Victoria East was assigned to the chief and leading people of the clan as a residence, in reward of their good conduct, it was thought expedient to provide for several hundred families by allotting them ground in the district of Kentani. Then some of the rebels who registered themselves and gave up their arms when the amnesty was proclaimed were sent there also. And lastly there were the rebels who had been made prisoners—among them Tini,—and who had been sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for two years as punishment for what they had done, to be considered. There was no place so suitable for them as Kentani.

Galekas too were constantly applying to be allowed to settle as loyal subjects in Willowvale. Kreli was in Bomvanaland, where there was no room for many of his people, and as the applicants gave up their arms and professed to be entirely submissive, they were received favourably and ground was assigned to them. So very shortly both Willowvale and Kentani contained so large a Bantu population that there was no vacant space of sufficient extent for a European settlement.

These two districts, with Idutywa, Butterworth, Ngamakwe, and Tsomo, were formed into a kind of province,

over which in September 1878 Captain Matthew Blyth, formerly Fingo agent and recently chief magistrate of part of Griqualand East, was placed, with the title of chief magistrate of the Transkei.

The formal annexation of the districts of Kentani and Willowvale to the Cape Colony was considered advisable, in order that the system of government might be made legally uniform throughout the chief magistracy. In the session of parliament in 1878 a resolution proposed by the secretary for native affairs was agreed to "that in the opinion of this house it is expedient that Galekaland should be annexed to this colony, and that the government take such steps as may place it in a position to introduce a bill to effect such annexation."

On the 9th of January 1879 Sir Bartle Frere, in a despatch to the secretary of state, forwarded this resolution, and on behalf of the colonial ministry requested that her Majesty's government would sanction the annexation. At that time the imperial government was anxious to bring about a confederation of the South African colonies and states, similar to that of the Canadian Dominion. Sir Michael Hicks Beach therefore replied that he was disposed to think the present hardly a convenient time for taking any steps for determining the future position of Galekaland, and that it would seem preferable to wait until the general principles of confederation could be settled by a conference of colonial delegates. On the 19th of May Sir Bartle Frere wrote again, strongly recommending that the request of the Cape parliament should be complied with, so as to enable legislation to proceed in the coming session. The secretary of state answered that he could not do so, as her Majesty's government was very anxious that all questions connected with the territories adjacent to the Cape Colony, and not as yet actually incorporated with it, should be considered in connection with the delimitation of the provinces of the proposed union.

The session of 1879 thus passed by without the possibility of an annexation act being introduced. The correspondence with the secretary of state was, however, continued, in despatches too numerous for each to be referred to. On the 21st of October 1879 the governor forwarded a minute of the ministry, in which they stated that they deemed it of the utmost importance that the country formerly occupied by Kreli and the Galekas should be annexed to the colony. At last, on the 29th of January 1880, Sir Michael Hicks Beach wrote to Sir Bartle Frere that he had advised her Majesty to issue letters patent under the great seal authorising the colonial parliament to proceed with the necessary legislation, and that the letters patent would be transmitted as soon as certain assurances were received from the colonial ministry. On the 24th of March he wrote that he was satisfied with the assurances which had been forwarded, but desired that the regulations for the government of the territory should be submitted to him before the annexation was completed. On the 3rd of May, Earl Kimberley, who on the 28th of April 1880 had succeeded Sir Michael Hicks Beach as secretary of state for the colonies, forwarded a telegram to Sir Bartle Frere, announcing that the letters patent authorising the annexation would be transmitted as soon as they had been settled by the law officers.

Confiding in this announcement, in the session of 1880, an annexation act was passed by the Cape parliament, but now another difficulty arose. The secretary of state declined to advise her Majesty to assent to it, owing to some confusion about the regulations and the report of a commission then about to be appointed to inquire into Bantu laws and customs. A change of ministry at the Cape followed, and further delays occurred until the act fell through by effluxion of time.

In the meantime the districts of Kentani and Willowvale were practically in a position differing but

little from the remainder of the Transkei. The governor of the Cape Colony held a separate commission as governor of Galekaland and other territories similarly situated, and was guided by the advice of the colonial ministry. The administration of those districts was carried on through the department of the secretary for native affairs, and their revenue and expenditure were regulated by the parliament just as if they were legally districts of the colony. The judges of the supreme court, however, had no jurisdiction there.

In the session of 1884 the matter of annexation was taken up again, and a resolution similar to that of 1878 was adopted by the house of assembly. This was successful, for the necessary permission was obtained from England, and in 1885 an act for the purpose was passed, which was confirmed by the queen. On the 26th of August 1885 a proclamation was issued by Governor Sir Hercules Robinson, completing the annexation of Kentani and Willowvale to the Cape Colony.

The population of the six districts constituting the chief magistracy of the Transkei consisted at this time (1885) of about one hundred and nineteen thousand Bantu and eight hundred and twenty Europeans. The revenue derived from hut tax was about £12,000 a year, and from all other direct sources, chiefly fines, trading licences, and stamps, about £4,000. Educational purposes, that is grants in aid of mission schools, absorbed over thirty per cent of the whole revenue, and more than the remainder was expended on public works. Thus the Transkei was a burden upon the colonial treasury, though some portion of the deficit was made good by customs duties on goods sold there, and every year the difference between revenue and expenditure was diminishing.

CHAPTER VII.

FURTHER ANNEXATION OF TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY BANTU.

IN the general arrangements that were made regarding the Bantu after the suppression of the rebellion of 1878, it was resolved by the government to extend colonial jurisdiction over the Emigrant Tembus and the Bomvannas, and to secure greater uniformity in the systems of management by uniting under the same chief magistrate various districts which had been previously under separate heads. With regard to the Emigrant Tembus the formality of obtaining a request from them to be received as British subjects was dispensed with, and the territory which they occupied was simply divided into two districts, which were named Southeyville and Xalanga. Mr. Charles J. Levey, who had previously borne the title of Tembu agent, was thereafter termed magistrate of Southeyville, and in July 1878 Mr. William G. Cumming assumed duty as magistrate of Xalanga.

The honourable William Ayliff, who was then secretary for native affairs, made a tour through the territory for the purpose of explaining the new system to the people and obtaining their consent to its introduction. On the 16th of September 1878 he met the Emigrant Tembu chiefs Matanzima, Darala, Gecelo, and Stokwé the son of Ndlela at Cofinvaba, and after some discussion obtained their consent to the payment of hut tax. He informed them that over the ordinary magistrates there would be an officer to whom they could appeal whenever they thought justice was not done to them by the lower courts. The chiefs, according to Bantu custom, thanked Mr. Ayliff for the information, and appeared to be satis-

fied, but in reality were very far from being so. Their part of the country was still only thinly occupied, though after their removal to it from the location west of the Indwe in 1865 they had been joined by a considerable number of Fingos, whom they had invited to occupy land there with the object of increasing their importance. Gecelo and Stokwé had so far adopted European ideas that they had granted farms on individual tenure to several of their followers.

The arrangement indicated by Mr. Ayliff was carried out by the union of Emigrant Tembuland and Tembuland Proper under Major Elliot as chief magistrate. In December 1878 Major Elliot paid his first visit to the territory thus added to that previously under his charge. He found the chiefs discontented and half defiant. They told him that they had been promised when they moved from the old Tambookie location that they would be regarded as independent in the country east of the Indwe, and now they were being made subject to magistrates, much against their will. Major Elliot replied that they had no cause to complain, for they had not carried out their agreement with the Cape government, but by leaving people in the old location had retained for their section of the tribe possession of that ground as well as acquiring the land they were then occupying.

In 1879 hut tax was first paid in the united territories of Emigrant Tembuland and Tembuland Proper. Before that date the Cape Colony had borne the expense of maintaining establishments without deriving any direct revenue from the people beyond a trifling amount as licences and quitrent from the few European traders and farmers in Tembuland Proper.

The whole territory west of the Umtata river had thus been brought under British dominion with the exception of the district termed Bomvanaland, which bordered on the seacoast east of the Bashee. The Bomvanas are part of a tribe that was dispersed in the

convulsions of the early years of the nineteenth century. Another section of the tribe was called the Amatshezi, and resided partly in Pondoland and partly in Tembuland. The Bomvana section, under the chief Gambushe, grandfather of Moni, when driven out of Pondoland applied to the Galeka chief Kawuta to be received as a vassal clan, and was located by him along the Bashee. Subsequently they moved deeper into Galekaland, but in 1857 they decided not to destroy their cattle and grain as Kreli's people were then doing, and therefore retreated to the district in which they have since been residing.

It was with the Bomvanas, then under the chief Moni, that Kreli took refuge when driven from his own country in 1858. Though they had refused to follow the Galekas in the course which led to their dispersion, Moni and his people were faithful to them in their distress, and gave them all the succour that was in their power to bestow. In 1877 the Cape government placed a resident with Moni, in the person of Mr. William Fynn, who assumed duty on the 30th of June of that year. The clan was still, however, considered as in a condition of vassalage to the Galeka chief.

When the war of 1877 commenced, Moni announced his intention of remaining neutral. He did not attempt to conceal his attachment to Kreli, and stated that he would not abandon him in any ordinary peril, but to resist the European government was madness. When the Galekas retired across the Bashee before Colonel Griffith, some of them took refuge with the Pondos, but the greater number went no farther than Bomvanaland. It became necessary therefore, as the war extended, to close this district against the Xosas, and Major Elliot was instructed by Sir Bartle Frere to place himself in communication with Moni and take such further steps as the commander of the forces might direct.

On the 7th of January Major Elliot had an interview at Moni's residence with the chief and the principal men of the Bomvana clan. Moni himself was at this time believed to be over eighty years of age, he was blind and too feeble to travel, but his mental faculties were perfect. Mr. Arthur Stanford and Mr. William Fynn were present at the interview, and acted as interpreters. Major Elliot explained that the Bomvanas were too weak to remain independent and neutral in such a struggle as that going on, they were unable to prevent the Galekas from making use of their country as a place of shelter and base of operations, and therefore it was necessary for the Cape government to take military occupation of it and hold it during the war. To this no objection was made by the chief, as in the nature of things it was not a proposal but an announcement.

A few days later Moni sent his son Langa and his principal counsellors to Mr. Fynn with a request that he would forward the following message to the governor: "I wish to become a British subject. I place my people and country under the government, and I now ask the governor to send Colonel Eustace to assist my magistrate in making arrangements for taking over the Bomvanas."

Colonel Eustace was accordingly directed to proceed to Bomvanaland, and on the 28th of February 1878 he and Major Elliot reached the chief's residence. A meeting was at once held, at which Moni, his sons, counsellors, sub-chiefs, and about three hundred of his people were present. Mr. William Fynn, the resident, acted as interpreter. Colonel Eustace addressed the chiefs and people to the effect that he had come at *their* request, that the Cape government had no wish to deprive them of their independence, that if they became British subjects it would be of their own free will, that they would then have to pay hut tax and receive a magistrate, and that the chiefs would have to relinquish nearly all their

power and influence. They replied that they wished to come under the Cape government upon the same conditions as were agreed to in the case of the Tembus. Colonel Eustace then accepted them formally as British subjects. After this had been done, Moni said he hoped yearly allowances would be granted to himself and several other chiefs whom he named. This Colonel Eustace promised to recommend.

Mr. Fynn, the former resident, was thereafter styled magistrate, and exercised judicial powers. In December 1878 Bomvanaland, or as it was now termed the district of Elliotdale, was united with the other six districts, Emjanyana, Engcobo, Umtata, Mqanduli, Southeyville, and Xalanga, to form the chief magistracy of Tembuland. In 1880 the Bomvanas first paid hut tax. They had as yet hardly been affected, even in outward appearance, by European civilisation. Between them and the Tembus there had never been a friendly feeling.

The year 1880 was one of unrest in Tembuland as well as in Griqualand East, which was mainly caused by the attempt to enforce the disarmament act, and the disastrous result in Basutoland, which will be related in a future chapter. In the early months the air was full of rumours of a combination among the various sections of the Bantu to throw off the supremacy of the white man. It was impossible for the magistrates to ascertain what was taking place, what plans were being concerted, or where the explosion would be felt first, but all were agreed that there were very grave reasons for uneasiness. In October this state of uncertainty was brought to an end by the murder of three British officials in the district of Qumbu east of the Umtata. This was the signal for insurrection in Tembuland, and immediately several of the clans rose in arms.

Without delay Major Elliot issued instructions to all the magistrates in the territory to collect the Europeans and other obedient inhabitants of their districts, and to

retire either to Queenstown, Dordrecht, or Umtata, whichever could be reached with greater chance of safety. Umtata was the only place he thought of holding. In his instructions he pointed out that nothing could cause greater anxiety to the government, or tend more to impede military operations than the necessity of providing columns for the relief of small detached positions of no strategical importance which were not provisioned or in any other respect prepared to stand a siege. Most of the outlying magistracies were thereupon abandoned. Mr. Levey, who believed that he could defend Southeyville, remained at his post till a burgher force arrived with instructions to rescue him and then leave the place to its fate. As soon as this was carried out the office and residency were plundered and burnt by a party of the insurgents.

The clans that took up arms against the government were the Amakwati under Dalasile, occupying the district of Engcobo, and those under Gecelo and Stokwé the son of Ndlela in Southeyville and Xalanga. Among these there were no Tembus by descent except a few men who followed Siqungati, a brother of Gangelizwe. Another alien clan which had moved into these districts a few years before, under the petty chief Kosana, joined the insurgents, though Kosana himself took service with the colonial forces. All eyes were now turned towards Gangelizwe, for upon him alone it rested whether the insurrection should become general or not. He decided, as before, to be faithful to the government, and after this announcement was strengthened by his action in attaching himself to the chief magistrate, not a single clan joined the enemies of the Europeans, though the sympathy of the whole people was known to be entirely with them.

It thus became a comparatively easy matter to suppress the insurrection. The districts occupied by the clans that had taken up arms were swept by the colonial

forces, and by February 1881 British authority was firmly restored. The insurgents had lost everything, had been driven out of the territory, and were thoroughly subdued.

In the session of 1882 the Cape parliament referred to a select committee the question of the future occupation of the land from which the insurgents had been driven. This committee brought up a report recommending that the portion of the district of Xalanga that had been occupied by the chief Gecelo should be allotted to European farmers; that the consent of the imperial government should be obtained for the issue of titles, in case annexation to the colony should be delayed; that the remaining lands in Xalanga and Southeyville should be granted to Bantu irrespective of their tribal relationships; that as the district of Engcobo, in which Dalasile's clan had resided, belonged to the Tembu tribe, it should not be allotted to any people without the approval of the paramount chief Gangelizwe, but that steps should be taken to obtain his consent to its occupation by European farmers; and that a commission should be appointed without delay to deal with the matter on these lines. The house of assembly hereupon expressed its opinion in favour of the appointment of such a commission, and the governor carried the resolution into effect.

The commission consisted of Messrs. J. Hemming, civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Queenstown, J. J. Irvine and J. L. Bradfield, members of the house of assembly, and C. J. Bekker, justice of the peace for the division of Wodehouse, appointed on the 17th of August, and Messrs. J. J. Janse van Rensburg and J. Joubert, members of the house of assembly, appointed on the 22nd of September 1882.

In the meantime some Europeans from the border districts of the Cape Colony went in without leave and took possession of portions of the vacant territory, but

subsequently they made no objection to pay the government for grazing licences. The conflicting claims advanced by these people and their friends, by missionary societies, by traders, by chiefs and people, friendly, neutral, and lately hostile, made the task of the commission an extremely difficult one. Gangelizwe was the least troublesome of all to deal with. He made a formal cession of the northern part of the district of Engcobo, and sent four of his counsellors to point out the boundary between it and the part which he reserved for his own people. In Xalanga and Southeyville a line was laid down between parts intended for settlement by Europeans and by Bantu, against which Messrs. Bekker, Van Rensburg, and Joubert protested as giving an undue proportion to the latter, but it was maintained, and the country below it was filled up with Bantu of different tribes, in the manner recommended by the parliamentary committee.

The land assigned for occupation by Europeans extended along the base of the Drakensberg adjoining the district of Wodehouse. Its whole extent, including the Slang river settlement, which dated from 1867, was only seven hundred and twelve square miles, or one thousand eight hundred and forty-three square kilometres, and from this must be deducted thirty-eight square miles occupied as a Bantu location in Maxongo's Hoek.

The late insurgents were located chiefly in a magisterial district called Cala, formed of parts of the former districts of Southeyville and Xalanga. Mr. C. Levey was stationed there as magistrate. The remainder of the district of Southeyville, or the portion occupied by the clans under Matanzima and Darala, was formed into a separate district, called Saint Mark's, and in May 1881 Mr. R. W. Stanford assumed duty there as magistrate. The three districts—Xalanga occupied by Europeans and Cala and Saint Mark's occupied by Bantu—were in September 1884 again formed into two, by the partition

of Cala between Xalanga and Saint Mark's. Mr. Levey thereupon became magistrate of Xalanga. In May 1884 Mr. R. W. Stanford was succeeded at Saint Mark's by Mr. T. R. Merriman, who remained when the district was enlarged.

In 1882 part of an abandoned tract of land along the Umtata, on which European farmers had been located by Gangelizwe before the cession of the country, was purchased from that chief by the government, for the purpose of providing commonage for a town which was becoming a place of importance. The site was selected by Mr. Probart in January 1876, near the western bank of the river of the same name, at a height of six hundred and seventy metres, or two thousand two hundred feet above the level of the sea. Across the river Pondo-land stretches away, and to the northwest the Matiwane mountains, clad with forests, rise full in view. In 1885 Umtata contained about a hundred and fifty buildings, among which were the court house and public offices, an English cathedral, another English church, a Roman catholic mission church, a Wesleyan church, a high school, a theatre, and several large stores. It was the residence of the chief magistrate of Tembuland, and was the most important military station east of the Kei. Exclusive of the colonial military forces, it had then a European population of five hundred souls.

The seven districts forming the chief magistracy of Tembuland were not formally annexed to the Cape Colony until 1885. They were governed in exactly the same manner as the districts of Kentani and Willowvale in the Transkei, and precisely the same course was followed by the Cape parliament concerning them. When by the governor's proclamation of the 26th of August 1885 they were incorporated in the Cape Colony, the principal difference in their position that was effected was that the judges of the circuit and supreme courts thereafter tried important cases instead of a combined

court of magistrates with the chief magistrate as president. Bantu law continued to be carried out in all civil cases where only Bantu were concerned, the chiefs were allowed to try civil and petty criminal cases, but there was a right of appeal from their decisions to the magistrates, no spirituous liquor could be sold by any one to a black man or woman under penalty of a fine of £50 and disqualification to trade thereafter in the territory, and no right of representation in the Cape parliament was given.

The population of the chief magistracy of Tembuland in 1885 consisted of about eight thousand five hundred Europeans and one hundred and fourteen thousand Bantu. The revenue had been very far short of the expenditure, but every year the deficiency was becoming less. One fourth of the whole revenue was expended for educational purposes, as the government was coöperating with the numerous mission societies in a supreme effort to elevate the people.

On the 30th of December 1884 the chief Gangelizwe died. His son by his great wife—the daughter of Kreli—Dalindyebo by name, was then only eighteen years of age. He had been educated, though not to a very high standard, in mission schools. In June 1884 Darala died. His great son being a child, a regent was appointed to act during his minority. The authority of the colonial government was therefore more readily acknowledged. Dalasile, chief of the Amakwati, still possessed much influence, but he was powerless for harm. He lived ten years longer, and died on the 18th of May 1895.

The chief magistracy of Transkei was affected to some extent by the insurrection in Tembuland and Griqualand East in 1880, though none of the inhabitants joined the rebels. The Galekas and Gaikas were without arms, and had suffered so much recently that they were anxious only for tranquillity. In 1879 the Fingos and the people of Idutywa had been required to surrender their guns and

assagais, and had done so, though with great reluctance. They could not understand why the government should disarm them, as they had fought and bled on the colonial side, and they became for a time sullen and discontented, many of them caring little whether they received the promised compensation or not. At that time the only military force in the chief magistracy consisted of three men of the Cape mounted rifles stationed at Ibeka. The insurgent clans in Tembuland were aware of the discontent of the Fingos, whose assistance they hoped to obtain, but these people realised that rebellion, even if successful, would be followed by their destruction, and the Christian section set an example of obedience, which was imitated by the others, so that Captain Blyth's call for volunteers to enrol under European officers for the defence of the territory was generally responded to.

On the 10th of November 1880 a hostile band made a raid into the Fingo districts and killed Captain Blakeway and about thirty of the Fingos under his command. On the 14th of November another raid was made, when Captain Von Linsingen, who had done excellent service in 1878 in assisting to suppress the rebellion of the Barabes, his son, and three other Europeans were killed. Shortly after this the colonial forces arrived at the scene of disturbance, and prevented a repetition of these attacks. A large force of Fingos was subsequently employed in assisting the government against the hostile clans, and in that duty performed good service.

Though the districts of Tsomo, Nqamakwe, Butterworth, and Idutywa were annexed to the colony, colonial law was not carried out in them as it was on the western side of the Kei. Under the conditions of annexation the governor in council was empowered to draw up regulations which should have the force of law. These regulations were to be published in the *Gazette*, and in the session following their publication be laid before parliament, which retained the power of repealing or altering them.

No acts of the Cape parliament were to be in force unless proclaimed so by the governor, or expressly extended to the annexed districts in the acts themselves. The code published in 1879 was the whole body of colonial law then in existence, except when in conflict with a number of regulations issued at the same time. One of these regulations was that where all parties to a civil suit were Bantu, the case could be dealt with according to Bantu law, that is the recognised custom of each tribe, which is not always identical with that of its neighbours. This clause covered all cases relating to marriage and inheritance, so that polygamy was not interfered with, nor any attempt (which must have been abortive) made to destroy the bonds which hold Bantu society together.

The jurisdiction of the magistrates was unlimited in civil cases, but the loser had the right of appeal to the chief magistrate, or, after 1882, to the eastern districts court or the supreme court, as he might choose. In criminal cases the magistrates had large powers, but their decisions were subject to review by the chief magistrate, and after 1882 appeals could be made to the judges of the supreme court exactly as in the European districts of the colony. Persons charged with the commission of crimes to which by the colonial laws the penalty of death was attached were tried before 1882 by a court consisting of the chief magistrate and two of the sub-magistrates, after that date by the judges of the circuit court.

After February 1832 the Fingos voluntarily paid an annual tax of two shillings and six pence each man for local purposes. The fund thus created was administered by a committee of headmen and magistrates, who met once every three months at the office of the chief magistrate. There were also sub-committees which met monthly at each magistracy. The proceeds of this tax amounted to about £800 annually, and the government

contributed from the general revenue a sum equal to that voluntarily raised. The fund was devoted to the maintenance of a hospital at Butterworth which received patients from all parts of the Transkei, the construction and repair of roads, and such other public works as the committee might determine. This is a striking proof of the advancement in civilisation which was being made by the Fingos under Captain Blyth's guidance. After 1884 the inhabitants of each of the districts Idutywa, Kentani, and Willowvale contributed £50 yearly towards the maintenance of the hospital.

It was in the chief magistracy of Griqualand East that the insurrection of 1880 began, and where its effects were most widespread. Clans who had come under the white man's control at their own urgent and often-repeated request when threatened with destruction by their enemies, as soon as the peril was over demurred to any restraint such as the laws of a civilised government imposed upon them, and particularly resented the call upon them to give up their arms.

In April 1880 the chief magistrate began to observe that matters were becoming very unsatisfactory. Outwardly all was calm as ever, and the chiefs and people were loud in expressions of loyalty and declarations of satisfaction. But Mr. Brownlee was too experienced in the ways of the Bantu to trust to indications of this kind, and when he ascertained that Basuto messengers were stealthily passing to and fro and that the chiefs were in close correspondence with each other, he knew that a storm was gathering.

There was a small force of Cape mounted riflemen in the territory, but early in September it was sent to Basutoland. After this the reports received by Mr. Brownlee became more alarming, and he determined to visit Matatiele, where the greatest danger of disturbance was to be apprehended. On the 11th of September he held a meeting with the Basuto in that magistracy, and received

their repeated assurances that no matter what their tribe beyond the mountains might do they would ever be found loyal to the colonial government.

The chief magistrate returned to Kokstad, and there received intelligence of the engagement of the 13th of September between Lerothodi and the Cape mounted rifles at Mafeteng and that nearly the whole Basuto tribe had risen in rebellion against the Cape Colony. Taking with him Mr. Donald Strachan and Mr. George Hawthorn, that gentleman's successor as magistrate of Umzimkulu, with an escort of twenty-five men of the Abalondolosi, Mr. Brownlee left again for Matatiele. He reached the residency on the 30th of September, and found the Basuto, who less than three weeks before had been talking so loyally, now arming and singing war songs in all the locations. He endeavoured to pacify them, but in vain. Mr. Liefeldt, the magistrate, enrolled a hundred Hlubis and Basuto, whom he believed to be trustworthy, for the defence of the residency, but it was soon ascertained that no dependence could be placed upon the Basuto. Forty of them deserted during the night of the 2nd of October, and joined the insurgents.

On the night of the 3rd of October it was resolved to abandon the residency, as it was not possible to hold it, and to remain longer would expose the little party to certain death. Next morning Messrs. Brownlee, Strachan, Hawthorn, and Liefeldt effected their escape, and a little later in the day the place was surrounded by insurgents, through whom the Hlubis were compelled to cut their way with a loss of eleven men. By this time the whole district of Matatiele was in revolt, the trading stations were being plundered and the mission stations destroyed. The Europeans, after being despoiled of everything, were permitted to retire to Kokstad.

As soon as intelligence of the Basuto insurrection reached Maclear, the magistrate, Mr. J. R. Thomson, enrolled the Fingos and a few colonial blacks who in

1872 had been located in that district, and made the best preparations that he could for the defence of his post. His position was one of great peril, for it was anticipated that the insurgents of Matatiele would be joined by their kinsmen in his district.

It was then that Hamilton Hope, magistrate of Qumbu, resolved to aid in the defence of Maclear and at the same time secure the Pondomsis under Umhlonhlo on the European side, or perish in the attempt. He had always been on friendly terms with Umhlonhlo, and had treated him with extreme consideration. The chief professed to be attached to the magistrate, and asserted his readiness to act in any way Mr. Hope might direct. To outward appearance there was no reason to suspect him of treacherous intentions. But Mr. Hope knew the character of the people he had to deal with, and he had received abundant warning of the danger he was about to incur. At that time he could easily have escaped to Umtata. But like a brave man and a faithful servant of the government, as he was, he determined to risk his life in the effort to get Umhlonhlo to commit himself by taking part against the enemies of the Europeans, and thus confine the insurrection within narrow limits.

He arranged with Umhlonhlo to meet him with five hundred men at a camp on the road to Maclear, to which place he would bring all the men he could collect about the residency and such arms and ammunition as could be obtained. His clerk, Mr. Davis, and two young officers on the establishment of the chief magistrate of Tembuland, who happened to be there, by name Henman and Warrene, accompanied him. Mr. Hope suggested to these gentlemen that they had better not go, as it was sufficient for him alone to incur the risk, but they preferred proceeding to remaining behind and thereby betraying to Umhlonhlo and his people that they were not implicitly trusted.

On the 23rd of October all was ready for the advance. There had been as yet no show of enmity on one side or of want of confidence on the other. Umhlonhlo's men ranged themselves in a semicircle for a war dance preparatory to marching, and the Europeans stood by the waggons as spectators. As the dance went on, little groups of warriors rushed out from the main body, flourishing their assagais and pretending to stab opponents. Of a sudden one of these groups dashed forward and struck down Messrs. Hope, Henman, and Warrene. Mr. Davis was spared, owing to his being the son of an old missionary with the Pondomsi and a brother of a missionary then with the tribe. Three or four hundred Snider rifles and twenty-seven thousand rounds of ammunition fell into Umhlonhlo's hands by this act of treachery, which was a signal for a rising of the clans on both sides of the Umtata. The magistrate's horse and gun were given to Roqa and Umbeni, two Pondo messengers who were present at the massacre, and they were directed by Umhlonhlo to take them as a present to Ndabankulu, a brother of the Pondo chief Umqikela, with an intimation of what had been done.

Immediately after the murder of the officials Umhlonhlo joined the rebel Basuto. Mr. Thomson, with forty European volunteers from Dordrecht and one hundred and twenty Batlokua under Lehana, had in the meantime left Maclear, and was advancing to meet Mr. Hope, when intelligence of the murder reached him. He had only time to take shelter in a trading station when he was surrounded by the enemy. Here, though attacked repeatedly, he managed to beat his assailants off and hold the post until the arrival of a column of friendly Hlangwenis from Umzimkulu, under Mr. Hawthorn. Mr. Thomson then made a stand at the Maclear residency, where for a month he was cut off from all communication by a host of Basuto, Pondomsi, and Tembu rebels, but when reduced to the last extremity for food and

ammunition he was rescued by a party of volunteers from Dordrecht.

The murder by Umhlonhlo's people took place close to a station of which the reverend Stephen Adonis, a coloured missionary, was in charge. Fearing that he also might be put to death he sprang upon a horse with only a riem in the mouth, and made all haste to Tsolo. Having informed Mr. Welsh, the magistrate there, of what had occurred, he sped on to Umtata, which post he reached that same night, and gave warning to Major Elliot, chief magistrate of Tembuland.

There was only one building at Tsolo capable of being defended, and that was the prison. Its walls were of stone, and it was roofed with iron, but it was very small. Mr. Welsh hastily loopholed it, and then the Europeans, men, women, and children, and the black police took shelter within it. They were not a moment too soon, for Umditshwa's people had already risen, and were even then plundering and burning the trading stations in the district. Next morning at dawn two traders, who had escaped with only their lives, joined them, and then there were shut up in that little building thirty Europeans, of whom only eleven were men, and five black policemen. They had no more than two hundred rounds of ammunition and a very scanty supply of food. The Pondomsis, mad with war excitement, plundered and destroyed the residency and other buildings before their eyes. Every moment they feared would be their last, though they were resolved to sell their lives dearly. Umditshwa offered, if they would leave the prison, to send them under escort to Umtata, but wretched as they were they declined to trust themselves in his hands.

Their only hope was in relief from Umtata. But Major Elliot was in almost desperate straits, for many of the clans in the territory under his charge had also risen, his sub-magistracies were abandoned, he was him-

self in lager, and until Gangelizwe came in he had every reason to believe that all Tembuland, with the exception of Elliotdale, was in rebellion. It was eight days before help of any kind could be sent. At last on Sunday the 31st of October, when they were almost sunk in despair, a column was seen approaching Tsolo. It was a party of Nquiliso's Pondos, led by the reverend James Morris, and accompanied by six European volunteers from Umtata. Braver men than these seven white colonists no country need wish to have. They went with their lives in their hands, for there was no guarantee that Nquiliso's people would not act as Umhlonhlo's had done, and it was certain that at the best these Pondos were not more than lukewarm in rendering assistance. When the relief column reached Tsolo, some of the rescued Europeans, from hunger, anxiety, and the horrible discomforts of such close confinement, were found to be delirious. All, however, were saved, and reached Umtata without further suffering.

Thus the insurrection had spread over the four districts of Matatiele, Maclear, Qumbu, and Tsolo. All the Basuto, except a very few of Lebenya's followers whose conduct was doubtful, all the Pondomsis, and about three hundred of the Batlokua, under Ledingwana, nephew of Lehana, rose in arms against the Europeans. Even some of the Hlubis, to save themselves from destruction, professed to be with the insurgents. On the side of the colonial government there were a score or two of destitute white traders whose stations had been destroyed, as many colonial blacks of slave descent, and a few hundred Fingos and Batlokua under Lehana. To the remaining districts, Kokstad, Umzinkulu, and Mount Frere, the rebellion did not spread, with the exception that one small clan left Kokstad and joined the insurgents in the field.

Intelligence of the simultaneous rising of so many clans, of the massacre by Umhlonhlo's people, of the murder

of several traders, of the pillage and destruction of public buildings, trading establishments, and mission stations, burst upon the colonial government and people like a sudden thunderclap. The difficulties encountered in Basutoland, constantly increasing in magnitude, had previously engrossed public attention. The regular military forces of the colony had all been sent to meet the bands of Lerothodi and Masupha. The government therefore called out a large number of burghers, and as fast as they could be raised volunteers and coloured levies were sent to the front.

Mr. Brownlee on his side speedily had a strong force in the field. There were a good many European farmers who had purchased ground from the Griquas in the districts of Kokstad and Umzimkulu, there were traders scattered over all the districts, and in the village of Kokstad there were a few mechanics. From these sources a small body of volunteers was raised. The Griquas furnished another corps. The 'Bacas of Nom-tsheketshe and Makaula supplied contingents. Sidoyi, chief of a large clan of the Hlangwenis, who had fled into the territory from Natal twenty-three years before, gave great assistance. Another large body that took the field on the European side was composed of Bantu from Umzimkulu. These people consisted principally of little groups of refugees who had lost their hereditary chiefs, and who had settled in Umzimkulu under Mr. Donald Strachan's protection when he was one of Adam Kok's magistrates. Since that time they had regarded him as their head, and were devoted to him personally. Mr. Strachan had resigned the appointment of magistrate of Umzimkulu, but at Mr. Brownlee's request he now accepted the position of commandant-general of the auxiliary Bantu forces, and was followed to the field by quite a formidable though undisciplined army, perfectly obedient to their leader, and ready to face any danger with him at their head,

The insurgents were thus attacked on both sides, and heavy losses were inflicted upon them. The Basuto made a very poor resistance, and soon abandoned Griqualand East altogether and made their way over the Drakensberg to the country occupied by the main section of their tribe then in rebellion. Umhlonhlo's people took their cattle into Eastern Pondoland, where, owing to Umqikela's friendship, they were kept safely, and were restored when the country was again at peace. The clan was dispersed, but efforts made to capture the chief failed until 1903.* Umditshwa's people took their cattle into Nquliso's country, but when the insurrection was quelled the Pondos refused to restore them. They thus lost everything.

On the 14th of January 1881 Umditshwa, with two of his sons of minor rank and six of his counsellors, surrendered. They were sent to King-Williamstown, where in the following September they were put upon their trial before the circuit court, when, being found guilty of rebellion, the chief was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, and his sons and counsellors to two years' hard labour. With the surrender of Umditshwa the insurrection in Griqualand East came to an end, as the colonial forces were then in full possession of the territory, and after that date no resistance was offered there.

The people who had risen in arms now began to give themselves up. As fast as they surrendered they were disarmed and temporarily located, pending the decision of the colonial authorities as to their final settlement.

* He made a desperate resistance when he was discovered, but was secured and sent to King-Williamstown to stand his trial for the murder of Messrs. Hope, Warrene, and Henman. Being tried by the colonial law, which would not permit of his being examined personally against his will, and as it could not be proved that he had either struck a blow himself or given order to any one else to do so, he was acquitted by the jury. In the dock he excited admiration by his dignified bearing and stoicism, though almost any Bantu chief would have done the same. While a fugitive he had adopted the Roman catholic faith.

During the years 1881, 1882, and 1883, they continued to come in from Pondoland and other districts to which they had fled, but most of the Basuto who had rebelled were not permitted to return to Griqualand East.

In June 1883 a commission, consisting of Messrs. C. Brownlee, D. Strachan, and C. P. Watermeyer, was appointed for the purpose of settling the country that had been occupied by the insurgents. The plan of the government was that a reserve of twenty to twenty-five thousand morgen in extent should be laid out for occupation by Europeans around the seats of magistracy of Qumbu and Tsolo, the remainder of those districts being allotted to Bantu. All who had not taken part in the insurrection in Maclear and Matatiele were to be invited to remove to Qumbu or Tsolo, but if they should not choose to do so they were to have locations secured to them where they were. The remainder of the country was to be laid out in farms and sold to Europeans.

The commission was engaged for some months in defining locations and settling in them the various applications for land. A large part of the district of Qumbu was given to Fingos, comprising a clan under Ludidi, who moved from Matatiele, a clan under Umtongwane, son of Ludidi, who came from Mount Frere, a clan under Nelani, who came also from Mount Frere, surplus population from the Izeli valley in the division of King-Williamstown, and a clan under the headman Maqubo. The Pondomsis had an extensive location assigned to them, in which they were placed under the headman Umzansi, a brother of Umhlonhlo. Another tract of land was allotted to a body of Basuto under Sofonia Moshesh. People of different tribes mixed together were placed in locations under Jonas and Umtonintshe. The Wesleyan mission station Shawbury had a large block of land assigned to its dependents. And around the seat of magistracy some twenty thousand morgen, the remainder of the district, were reserved for the use of Europeans. This plan could

not be carried out, however, as originally intended, because white people were not attracted to a locality of such limited extent, where they would be surrounded by Bantu, and shortly it was found necessary to provide for so many more blacks than appeared at first that the project of settlement of the reserves in this and the neighbouring district had to be abandoned.

The district of Tsolo, with the exception of a reserve of some twenty-three thousand morgen about the seat of magistracy, was likewise entirely parcelled out among Bantu. Here also the Fingos received large allotments. A number of these people moved in from the district of Maclear, and to those from the Izeli a section was assigned, bordering on their ground in Qumbu. The late rebel Pondomsis, over whom Mabasa, uncle of Umditshwa, was placed as headman, received a large location. Ground was assigned to the Tolas under Bikwe, a clan which migrated from Pondoland in 1882. Four other locations under as many headmen were given to people of various clans, among whom were a good many Pondomsis. The mission of the church of England was provided with ground on which to reëstablish its destroyed station of Saint Augustine. And several deserving blacks received farms from five hundred to a thousand acres in extent as quitrent grants.

The district of Maclear was in 1882 divided into two magisterial districts, named Maclear and Mount Fletcher. Bantu were left by the commission almost entirely in possession of the latter. In it was the old location of the Hlubis under Zibi, left intact, the location of the Batlokua under Lehana, of which it was intended to allot a portion to Europeans, but the design was never carried out, and as much of Lebenya's old location as was needed by those of his people who professed to have been faithful to the colonial government.

In the district of Maclear there was a large location of Fingos mixed with people of various clans, and several

farms occupied by coloured people, but the greater portion of the land was retained for occupation by Europeans. A number of quitrent farms were surveyed there and sold by public auction even before the appointment of the commission.

In the district of Matatiele about one-fourth of the land was laid out in locations for Bantu. These locations were assigned to Basuto under George Moshesh, Tsita Moshesh, and three other headmen, some of them recent refugees from Basutoland, others individuals who at first aided the insurgents, but subsequently joined the colonial forces when they appeared in strength; Baputi under Masakala, who had also been hostile and friendly by turns; Fingos under several headmen; and a section of the Hlangweni clan under Umzongwana, son of the late chief Sidoyi. The remainder of this district was reserved for occupation by European farmers.

The removal of the Fingos from the district of Mount Frere made room for the Bacas under Nomtsheketshe to move in from the Rode (pronounced Kho-day) valley in Pondoland. This did away with one of the elements of confusion on the southern border. The Bacas and Pondos in the Rode were continually quarrelling, and there was such strong sympathy between the former and their kinsmen under Makaula that there was an ever-present danger of these being drawn into conflicts which might terminate in a general war. Nomtsheketshe was by descent of higher rank than Makaula, but his following was much smaller.

The area of the five districts, Maclear, Mount Fletcher, Matatiele, Qumbu, and Tsolo, is about five thousand eight hundred square miles or fifteen thousand and thirty-four square kilometres. The settlement effected gave four thousand two hundred square miles, or ten thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven square kilometres to Bantu, and left one thousand six hundred square miles or four thousand one hundred and forty-seven square kilometres

for occupation by Europeans. Some of this, however, was afterwards given to Bantu as a matter of necessity, so that the gain was small as far as colonisation by white men was concerned.

In addition to the eight districts of Maclear, Mount Fletcher, Qumbu, Tsolo, Matatiele, Kokstad, Umzimkulu, and Mount Frere, the chief magistracy of Griqualand East covered a tract of land about two hundred and forty square miles or six hundred and twenty-two square kilometres in extent, termed the district of Mount Ayliff, which was united to it in 1878. This district was on the southern side of the line laid down by Faku, and was consequently part of Pondoland until the Xesibes who lived in it were received as British subjects. It was situated between the Rode and the head waters of the Umtamvuna river, and had the district of Kokstad on the north and the county of Alfred in Natal on the east. Its southern boundary was not defined when the clan was taken over, but was understood to be where Xesibe kraals ended and Pondo kraals began.

It became British territory through the resistance of Umqikela, the paramount Pondo chief, to certain demands made upon him by the colonial government. There were stipulations as to the surrender of criminals, the freedom of roads, the prevention of illicit trade, and the reference of disputes with neighbouring tribes to the mediation of the Cape authorities, contained in the third, seventh, eighth, and tenth clauses of the Maitland treaty of 1844, which the chief practically refused to carry out. In consequence of this, measures were taken to extend the authority of the colony. Messrs. Blyth and Elliot were commissioned to settle the Pondo difficulty, and by them the chiefs of the border clans were invited to transfer their allegiance to the British government, which several of them were very ready to do.

The first who responded to this invitation was the Xesibe chief Jojo, whose clan numbered about four

thousand two hundred souls. He had frequently requested British protection against the Pondos, between whom and his people there was a long and bitter feud. The commission of 1872 had made the Xesibes tributary to the Pondos, upon condition that the territory which they occupied should be left to them intact and that the Pondos should deal with them fairly. They complained that these terms had not been observed, and the colonial government then interfered, basing its right to do so upon the thirteenth clause of the Maitland treaty of 1844. Umqikela asserted that Jojo refused to recognise his paramountcy, which compelled him to treat the Xesibes as rebels. Sir Henry Barkly then required Jojo to recognise Umqikela's authority in a formal manner, and in November 1874 Mr. Donald Strachan accompanied the Xesibe messengers to the Pondo chief and was a witness of their payment to him of eight oxen and two horses as a token of their dependence. Umqikela expressed himself satisfied, and promised to treat the Xesibes as his vassals in a just and liberal manner; but the ill-feeling between the two tribes was too deeply seated to be so easily eradicated, and Mr. Strachan had hardly reached his home when the plundering and retaliation commenced again. From that time there was no intermission of these disorders, while fresh appeals for British protection were made by the Xesibes on every suitable opportunity. On the 8th of July 1878 Jojo and his people were accepted as subjects on the usual terms by Messrs. Blyth and Elliot.

The next to respond was a Hlubi named William Nota, who occupied part of the Rode valley, a narrow wedge of land on the Pondo side of the line, between the districts occupied by Makaula's Bacas and Jojo's Xesibes. Nota was a recent immigrant, and had been appointed by Umqikela headman over a party of Hlubis who occupied the Rode conjointly with some Bacas under the chief Nomtsheketshe and some straggling

Xesibes. He had no complaint against the Pondos, but had a vague desire to become a government man, like the rest of the Hlubis. On the 22nd of July 1878 he was accepted as a subject by the commissioners, but their act was not confirmed by the government, and Nota was obliged to make his peace again with Umqikela, which did not occasion much difficulty.

Following Nota came Siyoyo, chief of the Amacwera, a clan claiming to be a remote off-shoot of the Pondomsi tribe. He was a vassal of the Pondos with, as a matter of course, a feud with his next neighbour, the Pondo clan under Valelo. Siyoyo had applied in 1877 for protection, by which he meant assistance in his quarrel. He now repeated his desire to become a British subject, and on the 5th of August was accepted by the commissioners. As in Nota's case, however, the government declined its ratification, and Siyoyo was obliged to renew his allegiance to Umqikela by formal submission and payment of tribute.

Shortly after this the honourable William Ayliff, who was then secretary for native affairs, visited the country. On the 28th of October 1878 he held a meeting with the Xesibes under Jojo, when he announced that the government had confirmed the act of the commissioners in receiving them as subjects. Mr. Walter H. Read was at the same time stationed with them as magistrate.

This procedure of the colonial government was felt as a grievance by the Pondos. The feud between the two tribes was deepened by it, and disturbances became even more frequent than before. In 1879 the Pondo chiefs on the border invaded the district and devastated a large portion of it, burning and destroying the kraals as they advanced. They were only checked by the arrival of a force of two thousand five hundred men, which was hastily raised in the district of Umzimkulu, and sent under Mr. Donald Strachan to protect the Xesibes. Umqikela then disowned the acts of the border chiefs,

and promised to make good the damage done, but failed to do so when Mr. Strachan's army was disbanded.

During the insurrection of 1880 the Xesibes were an element of trouble, for as soon as the colonial forces were withdrawn from the district the Pondos endeavoured to worry them into open war. Instead of giving help in the field, they were clamouring for assistance themselves. So onerous was their protection to the government that at one time it was in contemplation to remove them altogether, and give them land in one of the other districts, but this plan of settling the question was frustrated by their refusal to migrate.

The encroachments of the Pondos at length compelled the colonial government to lay down a line between the tribes, and in April 1883 a commission consisting of Messrs. C. Brownlee, D. Strachan, C. P. Watermeyer, and the reverend J. Oxley Oxland, was appointed for that purpose. Umqikela was invited to coöperate with the commission by sending representatives to assist in defining a boundary, but he declined to do so. His view of the question was tersely summed up in a single sentence in a letter written in his name to the commissioners by his principal adviser and secretary Umhlangaso, who had been educated at a mission institution: "the paramount chief refuses to recognise the right of the Cape government to make a boundary in Pondoland between himself and rebel subjects and will rigidly adhere to the boundary as defined by the commission appointed by Sir Henry Barkly in 1872."

The commission was therefore obliged to lay down a line without any assistance. In doing so, it gave to the Pondos all places of doubtful ownership and even several kraals from which Xesibes had recently been expelled but which were then occupied by Pondos.

The government for several years maintained a much larger military force in Mount Ayliff than in any other district between the Kei and Natal. Detachments of

both cavalry and infantry were stationed at the seat of magistracy and also at a post named Fort Donald, besides which a strong force of black police was for some time kept up. But the Xesibes were dissatisfied at not receiving still greater protection, though they were such a heavy burden to the Cape Colony. They complained that when they stole from the Pondos the magistrate punished them and compelled them to restore the booty, but that when the Pondos stole from them the government did not see that they got redress, and Umqikela took no notice of representations made through the European officials. They wanted, in short, that in return for calling themselves British subjects and paying a tax of ten shillings a year on each hut the government should either line their border with troops and police, or give them military aid whenever they could make up a plausible case for retaliating on a Pondo kraal.

The district of Mount Ayliff was not formally annexed to the Cape Colony until 1886. An act for the purpose was passed by the parliament in that year, and after its approval by the queen, was proclaimed in force by the governor on the 25th of October. Previous to that time the supreme court exercised no jurisdiction in the district, and all cases, criminal as well as civil, were tried by the magistrate according to Bantu law. In the same year the Rode valley, in extent about thirty square miles or seventy-eight square kilometres, was purchased from Umqikela and added to the district, but was not formally annexed to the colony until 1888.

An act passed in 1882 gave the eastern districts court concurrent jurisdiction with the supreme court over the annexed portions of the territories. Persons charged with crimes punishable by death were thereafter sent for trial to the nearest town where a session of the circuit court was held. The magistrates had jurisdiction in all other criminal cases, but their sentences were

subject to review by the chief magistrate. Civil cases to any amount were tried in the magistrates' courts, but there was an appeal to either the chief magistrate, the eastern districts court, or the supreme court, as the suitors might elect. In criminal cases an appeal could also be made.

Kokstad, the residence of the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, soon grew to be a town of considerable commercial importance. It is situated in a broad valley on the bank of the Umzimhlava, a tributary of the Umzimvubu. About three miles or nearly five kilometres from the town rises Mount Currie to the height of two thousand three hundred and sixteen metres, or seven thousand six hundred English feet above ocean level, a grand object in the landscape. In 1885 Kokstad contained several churches, a first-class public school, a bank, and a good many places of business and dwelling houses. The purchase by Europeans from Griquas of a considerable number of farms in the district had tended greatly to promote the prosperity of the town.

The population of Griqualand East in 1885 consisted of about three thousand Europeans, ninety thousand Bantu, and three thousand five hundred Griquas and colonial blacks. As in the other territories, the expenditure during the first few years after its being brought under colonial rule was considerably greater than the revenue, but was now every year becoming more nearly equal. About £23,000 was paid in direct taxes in 1885.

The whole territory abandoned by Sir Philip Wodehouse under instructions from the imperial authorities, together with a good many districts that had been occupied by Bantu for several generations, had thus come under the government of the Cape Colony. The three great blocks of land termed chief magistracies—Transkei with six magisterial districts, Tembuland with seven, and Griqualand East with nine—could more properly be termed

dependencies of the colony than parts of it. They were not represented in parliament, their civil laws—except when Europeans were concerned—were not those of the people living west of the Kei, there was no possibility now of settling white men in them in sufficient numbers to raise their Bantu occupants speedily to a state of civilisation. That opportunity had been lost for ever. Of what value were they, then, or why were they brought under colonial rule?

The answer is that they were taken over from sheer necessity. There could be no security in the colony while tribes of barbarians were almost constantly at war with each other just beyond a fordable river border, and while many thousands of the same race were living in the colony itself. There was no other way of keeping order among them. The danger to be apprehended from extending British authority over them, without taking the cost in money into consideration, was great, but the danger from leaving them to themselves was greater. Prevented from destroying each other in war and on charges of dealing in witchcraft, they would increase at an amazing rate, under European rule their old tribal feuds would be forgotten, so that one section could not be used to keep another in submission; but it might be hoped that as new generations came into existence they would learn to appreciate more and more the benefits of peace and righteous government, and would be content to live as obedient subjects. And so they were taken over, and the most strenuous efforts that were possible with so small a European element were put forth to lead them onward in civilisation and prosperity.

CHAPTER VIII.

FURTHER ANNEXATION OF BANTU TERRITORY (*continued*).

By those well acquainted with the Xosa, Tembu, and Pondo tribes, and therefore competent to express an opinion, the last named has always been considered the most backward of the three. Perhaps the condition of extreme distress to which the Pondos were reduced in the time of Tshaka—when they had nothing but kilts of reeds and leaves for clothing and were long subject to famine—may have had something to do with this, or it may have been owing to their having had much less intercourse with Europeans, for the three tribes were one in origin, and that at no very distant date. There was a legend known to some of the old men among the Pondos in the early years of the nineteenth century that both the Tembus and the Xosas had branched off from their stem, and this is quite within the bounds of possibility, though it is by no means certain.

The traditions of any tribe cannot be relied upon as accurate for events that occurred more than a century and a half before, when those of three or four tribes can be compared the time may be extended to two centuries, but beyond that all is vague except such a statement as a migration from a far-off northern home, which is common to every clan south of the Zambesi, and is supported in most of the tribes by the custom still observed of burying the dead in a sitting position with the face towards the north,—or, as in the case of the Batlapin, the north-east,—looking towards the ancestral home. Even in such a matter as the line of descent of great chiefs, much

the most important subject in the opinion of a Bantu antiquary, it is necessary to use great caution. Take, for instance, the line of descent of Moshesh. Fifty years ago the Basuto antiquaries did not pretend to be able to trace it beyond his great-grandfather, to-day they connect him with the family of Monaheng. It was necessary in the opinion of some one to make his name great, and so a fictitious pedigree was composed, which soon became accepted as correct. The same thing may have occurred in many tribes, so that tradition unsupported by other evidence is almost useless for historical purposes.

The most that can be said of the three tribes is that almost to a certainty they were not in existence in the middle of the sixteenth century, and that the Abambo were not then in Natal. Some years later there was a perfect whirlwind of barbarous war in the north, when tribes disappeared and great areas were laid waste just as when the Mantati horde swept bare the country along the northern bank of the Vaal. Then, at the close of the sixteenth century the Abambo are found in Natal, and a little later the Pondos, the Tembus, and the Xosas are in existence farther south. But whether the three tribes in advance were actually part of the murderous horde that came down from beyond the Zambesi, destroying everything in its way, exterminating all human beings within its reach except young girls and boys that it incorporated, or whether they were fugitives trying to escape from the terrible Abambo, it is impossible now to say. Only this is certain, that each of these tribes was composed of fragments of many others that became welded together into one in so short a time that their former chiefs, with a single exception, must have perished. Born in the same terrible convulsion, of the same stock, with like careers, there was no radical difference between them, nothing that could make the Tembus and the Xosas superior to the Pondos, except such circumstances as have been indicated above. The Pondos have a smaller

quantity of Hottentot blood in their veins, but that cannot cause much difference.

The Pondo was now the only independent tribe below the Drakensberg range south of the Tugela. By the word independent, however, it is not implied that the tribe constituted an absolutely sovereign state such as France or Germany, for in the nature of things a petty barbarous government could not be permitted to do whatever it pleased, even within the limits of its own territory, in opposition to the interests of a powerful civilised neighbour. It was not a compact body, as not only was it divided into two sections, but each contained many vassal clans that could not be kept in perfect submission. The reception of the Xesibe clan and the incorporation of Mount Ayliff, that they occupied, with the chief magistracy of Griqualand East has already been related.

In the same year, 1878, another fragment of Pondoland was added to the domain of the Cape Colony. This was at the mouth of the Umzimvubu river, the São Christovão of the Portuguese, where a harbour for shipping not of the largest class is found in the tidal estuary, after the bar at the entrance has been crossed. This estuary had received the name Port St. John's, which was not inappropriate, as near it the galleon *São João* was wrecked in 1552, the terrible sufferings of whose passengers and crew form one of the most tragic narratives in South African history.

The control of Port St. John's was considered a matter of importance by the colonial government. Through it, if in unfriendly hands, goods could be conveyed to the interior without payment of customs duties, firearms and ammunition might be supplied to all the warriors in Kaffraria. The river divides Pondoland into two nearly equal portions, and the Pundos alone could lay claim to the ground about its mouth. In 1844 the chief Faku entered into a treaty with Sir Peregrine

Maitland, in the eighth clause of which he agreed "that he would not suffer the masters or mariners of any ships or vessels to land merchandise or to traffic with his people in any part of his country, unless such vessels should be furnished with a licence from the colonial government authorising them to land goods there." The treaty was a farce, as all similar agreements with petty barbarous rulers at the same time proved to be, and it was the only one of them all that had not been cancelled by Sir Harry Smith. By accident rather than by design this had not been done, and the document still remained in existence, practically to be enforced or not, according to what necessity—that is the interests of the whole community as understood by the civilised white man's government—demanded.

Even during the lifetime of Faku the clause of the treaty concerning commerce was not strictly observed. No foreign shipmaster attempted to enter the river, but a coasting trade was opened up by merchants in Natal, who made use of Port St. John's without remonstrance from the government of the Cape Colony. On the 29th of October 1867 Faku died, leaving Umqikela, his great son, paramount chief of the Pondos, and Ndamasi, his son of the right hand, chief of the clans west of the Umzimvubu. Practically Ndamasi was almost independent. It was indeed asserted by some of his adherents that Faku had made him actually independent by promising that the *umsila** should never be sent across to the western side of the river. It was satisfactorily proved that no *umsila* was sent from the great chief's residence to any clan under Ndamasi's government for many years before Faku's death. On the other hand, it was maintained that this was only a personal privilege.

* The *umsila* is the messenger who carries out sentences of the chief. The word means a tail, and the messenger is so called because he carries as a symbol of his authority the skin of the tail of a lion or leopard—in some tribes of an ox—stretched over a long wand,

given by Faku to his favourite son, and that it was not intended to indicate a division of the Pondo tribe. This was the view of the case taken by impartial men in the neighbouring tribes, and the balance of Pondo evidence was greatly in its favour. At any rate the paramountcy of Umqikela meant very little more to Ndamasi than an admission that the son of the great house was higher in rank than his elder brother.

The Pondo tribe had incorporated so many alien clans that its division into two, or even into a dozen sections independent of each other, would not cause much difficulty. When Faku died, Ndamasi was an old man, with the reputation of being an intelligent chief, and Umqikela was only thirty-two years of age, a drunkard, and without any capacity as a ruler. Under these circumstances, Sir Philip Wodehouse, who wished to secure the mouth of the Umzimvubu for the Cape Colony, applied personally to Ndamasi for it when he visited the country in 1869, but met with a distinct refusal. In 1874 there were some negotiations with regard to a cession of the port, and the Cape government was then willing to make a considerable compensation for it, but nothing came of the matter.

On the 29th of August 1876 Ndamasi died. He was succeeded by his son Nquliso, who was of about the same age as Umqikela. Nquliso followed his father's policy in claiming independence of the great house in everything except an admission of its superior rank. Owing to his position, he was more disposed to be friendly to the Cape Colony than was Umqikela, who asserted his rights as paramount chief of the Pondo tribe in language such as James II of England might have used, and with as little inclination as that monarch to adapt his conduct to the necessities of his time.

In 1878 the colonial government considered it imperative to obtain a footing at Port St. John's. Umqikela, the chief of a tribe composed largely of alien clans ready

at any moment to transfer their allegiance to some one else, with his authority actually ignored by a very large section of the tribe that claimed independence under another branch of the ruling house, could not be permitted to stand in the way of the adoption of a policy which would affect all South Africa. It cannot fairly be made a charge of injustice against the colonial government that it did not support the pretensions of an unfriendly, incompetent, and drunken chief to an authority which he was altogether unable to enforce.

On the 17th of July 1878 an agreement was made with Nquliso by Major Elliot, in which that chief ceded to the government of the Cape Colony all the sovereign rights which he then possessed or was entitled to claim over the waters and navigation of the Umzimvubu, as also of a piece of land on which to erect a custom house and other necessary buildings, such land to be paid for at a fair valuation. He further agreed to roads being made and maintained through the country on his side of the river from the port to the main waggon road from the Cape Colony to Natal. On the other part Nquliso was acknowledged as independent of Umqikela, from whose attacks he was promised protection as long as he maintained friendly relations with the government of the Cape of Good Hope. This agreement was ratified by the high commissioner, and on the 30th of September the secretary for native affairs in person concluded it by paying to Nquliso £1,000 for a narrow slip of land on the western side of the river, about ten thousand acres in extent, from the sea upwards about nine miles or fourteen kilometres and a half.

Under instruction from the high commissioner, on the 1st of August Lieutenant-General Thesiger left Table Bay with Commodore Sullivan in the *Active*, taking with him a company of the first battalion of the twenty-fourth regiment and ten men of the royal engineers, with a quantity of stores, and proceeded to Port Natal. There

a steam tug of forty-five tons burden, named the *Somtseu*, was engaged and sent to Port St. John's, and on the 27th of August the *Active* followed and anchored off the mouth of the river. On the 30th the troops and stores were taken across the bar in the *Somtseu*, and conveyed up the estuary to White's landing-place below the lower ford. On the 31st General Thesiger landed, hoisted the English flag, and proclaimed the eastern bank of the river British territory from the lower ford to the sea. He was accompanied by Major Crealock, Captain Harrison, Assistant Commissary General Pennell, Lieutenant Cameron of the royal engineers, Lieutenant Davis of the royal navy, and the reverend J. Oxley Oxland, British resident in Eastern Pondoland. Some seamen also were landed to witness with the troops the ceremony of hoisting and saluting the flag. Major Elliot and five of Nquliso's counsellors were witnesses of the proceedings, though at a distance, for they were stationed on the western bank of the river opposite the place where the ceremony was performed.

A site was then sought for a fort. General Thesiger selected a spot on the western bank close to the ford, which he named Davis' drift. It was about two miles or a little more than three kilometres above the strip of land which Nquliso had sold, and his counsellors who were present declared that they had no power to cede it. Major Elliot thereupon proceeded to Nquliso's residence, but found the chief averse to disposing of the site selected for the fort, as he stated he had promised the place to those of his subjects who would lose their gardens in the land already sold. He had no objection, however, to its being occupied temporarily by the troops. General Thesiger left there the company of the twenty-fourth under Captain Harrison and the royal engineers under Lieutenant Cameron, and they remained until August 1879, when they were relieved by a company of the ninety-ninth regiment. The fort was named by

General Thesiger Fort Harrison. It was abandoned and dismantled in 1882, when the Cape infantry then forming the garrison were moved down to the mouth of the river.

At the time of hoisting the flag, the highland on the western side of the mouth was named Mount Thesiger, and that on the eastern side Mount Sullivan, but these names are seldom used, the common designation being the Gates of Saint John. They present to the eye a scene of impressive grandeur.

On the 4th of September 1878 the high commissioner Sir Bartle Frere issued a proclamation in which he charged Umqikela with knowingly harbouring criminals who had committed murder in British territory and refusing to deliver them for trial, sheltering an insurgent Griqua leader for a time and then sending him home with an escort that assisted the rebels, and general unfriendly and hostile conduct; he declined the offer of Umqikela to pay a fine of a thousand head of cattle; he declared that Umqikela would no longer be recognised as paramount chief of the Pondos, but that subordinate chiefs would be allowed to deal directly with the British government; he declared further that Umqikela would not be permitted to exercise any control or authority over the navigation of the Umzimvubu, that the sovereignty over the port and tidal estuary of that river should be vested thenceforth in her Majesty's government, and that officers would be appointed on behalf of that government to control its navigation and to levy any customs or port dues which it might be necessary to impose. In a notice of the same date it was announced that the customs duties would be the same as those of the Cape Colony. Mr. Harry Mills Edye was then appointed acting resident magistrate and sub-collector of customs, and Mr. Bangay harbour master.

The imperial government ratified these measures. In a despatch dated the 13th of February 1879 Sir Michael Hicks

Beach conveyed to Sir Bartle Frere "the approval of her Majesty's government to the establishment of British sovereignty over the port and tidal estuary of St. John's, and of the manner in which that measure has been carried out."

The right to levy customs duties was disputed by two Natal firms, White Brothers and Wood & Co., who had long been doing business with the Pondos, on the ground that the port was not annexed to the Cape Colony, and in July 1881 they landed by force the cargo of a cutter and had it conveyed to undisputed Pondo territory. But this contention was nullified by Sir Hercules Robinson, who on the 2nd of August 1881 issued a proclamation in his capacity as governor of St. John's River Territory, imposing the duties.

On the 10th of October 1881 letters patent were issued under the great seal of the United Kingdom, empowering the governor to issue a proclamation annexing Port St. John's to the Cape Colony as soon as an act for that purpose should be passed by the Cape parliament. Just before the close of the session of 1884 such an act was brought forward by the ministry. It was read in the house of assembly for the first time on the 16th of July, read the second time and considered in committee on the 17th, and read for the third time on the 18th. In the legislative council it passed through all its stages on the 18th of July. On the 15th of September 1884 the governor issued a proclamation completing the annexation, since which date Port St. John's has been part of the Cape Colony and subject to all its laws.

The population of the annexed territory in September 1884 consisted of three hundred and eight souls, namely one hundred and ten officers and men of the Cape infantry, ninety-two European officials and traders with their families, and one hundred and six Bantu servants. No ground had then been disposed of to private in-

dividuals, but several substantial buildings had been erected at different places. The trade had been very small. Most of the goods imported were brought from Natal in small coasting steamers, that took back hides, horns, and maize obtained from the Pondos. The customs duties collected were in 1879 £499, in 1880 £1,745, in 1881 £1,593, in 1882 £2,251, in 1883 £2,120, and in 1884 £1,963. Captain E. J. Whindus was appointed resident magistrate, port captain, and shipping master in September 1884, and a customs house officer was also stationed there.

At this time Umqikela was provoking the colonial government to take action against him, and jurisdiction would have been extended over the whole of Eastern Pondoland if the imperial authorities had not objected to the occupation of that territory.* The chief, who was excessively vain, though without much ability, was in the hands of very bad advisers, foremost among whom was his half-brother Umhlangaso, who had received some education in mission schools, which he was turning to the worst account. Filled with conceit as a son of Faku, this man was instilling into Umqikela's mind that he was an absolute sovereign and could do whatever he chose in his own dominions without the white man having any right to interfere.

The great waggon road from Untata to Natal ran generally on the Griqualand side of the boundary, but in two places it passed through projecting points of Pondoland. One of these places was close to the Untata river, in Nquliso's territory, the other was the Rode, where for about ten miles or sixteen kilometres the road was beyond the Griqualand line. The only right that Umqikela had to the Rode was that derived from the treaty of 1844, and even up to 1881 no Pondos lived

* On the 3rd of January 1878 Lord Carnarvon wrote to Sir Bartle Frere that her Majesty's government was not prepared to approve of the extension of jurisdiction of the Cape Colony over the Pondos.

there. Previous to that date it was occupied by Bacas and Hlubis. For forty years, or ever since the Maitland treaty, the road had been kept in order by the colonial government or by individual white colonists, without any interference from the Pondo chiefs. But in May 1884 some labourers who were employed by the Cape government to repair it were interfered with by Umqikela's orders, and a letter was written in his name to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, in which he stated that he would not allow any repairs to be made on a road in his country unless his consent was first asked for and obtained.

A few weeks later information was forwarded to Cape-town that Umqikela was about to prohibit all commerce between the Cape Colony and Pondoland, and that the traders in his country were in a state of alarm. This information was confirmed by a letter from Umhlangaso to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, dated on the 9th of August, in which he notified that after the 15th of October Umqikela would not allow the passage of armed troops of the colonial government through any part of his country—that is, along the great waggon-road,—and in which he enclosed a proclamation by Umqikela announcing that after the 15th of October a tax of £50 would be levied upon every vehicle conveying merchandise entering or leaving Pondoland from or for the Cape Colony or Port St. John's, that on similar vehicles from Natal a tax varying from 10s. to 50s. would be charged, and that heavy tolls would be levied on the main road. Almost simultaneously with this, intelligence was received that the advisers of Umqikela were persuading him to try and play off Natal against the Cape Colony, and this too was shortly confirmed by advices from the Natal government to the high commissioner, in which a letter from Umhlangaso, dated on the 11th of August, was forwarded. In this letter Umhlangaso referred to the fact that there was no arrangement for the extra-

dition of criminals, and proposed a treaty with Natal, as the Pondos were very desirous to remain on friendly terms with that colony.

Cattle lifting by the Pondos from the Bacas and the Xesibes was being carried on at this time on a large scale, and in a few instances these people had retaliated.

Mr. (afterwards Sir Jacobus) de Wet, who on the 13th of May 1884 became secretary for native affairs, then paid a visit to the country. By his directions the military posts on the border were strengthened, and patrols were ordered out, with strict injunctions, however, under no circumstances to cross the boundary into Pondoland. The Bacas and Xesibes were prohibited not alone from stealing cattle from Pondos, but even from following the spoor of their own cattle, when stolen, across the Pondo line. Captain O'Connor was sent with a letter to Umqikela, explaining the object of strengthening the posts, and expressing a strong desire that the chief would prevent stockstealing from his side, and come to a friendly arrangement concerning other matters.

Captain O'Connor was received in a friendly manner by Umqikela, who promised to issue orders against thieving. On the 11th of October a letter was written by Umhlangaso to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, stating that Captain O'Connor's communication was the first one of a friendly nature that had been received from any representative of the colonial government since 1878, that the chief would gladly coöperate in any measure having for its object the peace of the country, and would send strict commands to the border chiefs to prevent stealing. In reply, Mr. De Wet caused Umqikela to be informed that he had received 'with great satisfaction the assurances conveyed in his message, that the government was most anxious to arrive at a proper understanding upon all matters causing difficulties between them, that the Xesibes were armed, but would only be permitted to act in self-defence, and that the sole object

of stationing troops on the border was to provide an efficient police.

The prospect of a friendly settlement lasted only a few days. On the 25th of October a Pondo army crossed the border in the absence of the colonial forces, and attacked the Xesibes, but was repulsed without much harm being done on either side. On the following day the attack was renewed, when the Pondos were beaten back with heavy loss, very little damage being sustained by the Xesibes. The cause assigned by the Pondos for these raids was that one of their people, named Tamana, had been murdered by the Xesibes on his own ground, and his cattle had been swept off by the murderers. But it was afterwards ascertained that the murder had not been committed by the persons so charged, and that the cattle had been driven in another direction.

Mr. W. E. Stanford and Captain O'Connor were then sent to try to arrange matters with Umqikela. They were to endeavour to obtain from him an acknowledgment of the colonial ownership of Port St. John's, of the right to construct and maintain roads from that port inland, a recognition of the boundary line between the Xesibes and the Pondos, and, what was regarded as more important than any of these, a pledge that no ship not provided with a colonial certificate should be allowed to land goods or carry on trade on the Pondo coast. They were to ascertain what compensation he would require in return for these concessions, and whether he would like to enter into a formal treaty concerning them.

They found Umqikela expressing a desire for peace and friendship, talking, in fact, in the most praiseworthy way, but unwilling to do anything except talk. They ascertained that pecuniary compensation would not be received for anything. The Pondos would not renounce their claim to Port St. John's, and they wanted the Xesibes removed and the ground occupied by those people given

to them, a most unreasonable wish, seeing that the Xesibes were as much entitled as the Pondos themselves to ground somewhere below the old Griqualand East line.

While this attitude was assumed by Umqikela, or perhaps more correctly by his advisers, the condition of Pondoland was one of utter anarchy. The orders of the great chief were everywhere disregarded, drunkenness was rife, and several of the clans were at open war with each other. In a battle between the sub-chiefs Siyoyo and Valelo, the latter was assisted by a large force under one of Nquliso's brothers, and the former was aided by some of Umqikela's immediate followers.

Umqikela at this time attempted to open a new harbour where entries should be free of the control of either of the colonial governments. If this could be carried out, all efforts on the part of the Cape authorities to prevent munitions of war and spirituous liquors from being supplied to the Bantu in the different territories would be futile, and it was therefore necessary for the colonial government to take some action in its own defence. On the 5th of January 1885 the high commissioner, acting under instructions from the secretary of state for the colonies, proclaimed her Majesty's protectorate over the whole coast of Pondoland.

As regards the toll on the main road, some waggons passing through the Rode were detained and the owner was obliged to pay under protest before they were released. The matter was then referred to the secretary for native affairs, who informed Umqikela that he was wilfully disturbing the relationship which had previously existed between him and the colonial government, and that by treaty obligations and otherwise he was precluded from establishing tolls upon a road made and kept in a fairly good state of repair, and used so long by her Majesty's subjects. The act, however, was not resisted by force.

On the 2nd of March 1885 a small vessel named the *Sir Evelyn Wood* arrived at Port Grosvenor, as Umqikela's proposed landing-place was termed. The Pondo counsellors Umhlangaso and McNicholas, with a large number of people were waiting on the beach to see the first cargo landed. On board the vessel was Captain Turner, the owner of the cargo, who went on shore, and announced that he had obtained from Umqikela a monopoly of importing goods through Port Grosvenor. He was met by a man named Rethman, who made exactly the same claim, and produced documents to show that he had obtained the right from Umqikela and had said for it. There could not have been a better indication of the confusion that would have arisen from the opening of a port on the coast free of all control except that of an ignorant chief. Umhlangaso and McNicholas—a white man then in the chief's favour—could not settle the dispute between Turner and Rethman, so Turner returned on board the vessel and left Port Grosvenor without attempting to land the cargo.

In June 1885 there was a serious disturbance between the Pondos and the Bacas. Three horses were stolen from the Tshungwana mission station, and the spoor was traced into Pondoland. The horses were found at the kraal of Umbali, a Pondomsi, but a sub-chief of Umqikela. Umbali stated that he had taken them from the thieves, but this declaration was not regarded as trustworthy. On the night of the 19th, the day on which the horses were recovered, eighty-eight sheep were stolen from the station. When this was discovered on the morning of the 20th, the Bacas raised the war cry and followed on the spoor, which led into Pondoland. On the border one of the sheep was found stabbed to death, a circumstance which with Bantu means a challenge to fight. The Bacas pushed on and found a Pondo army drawn up to oppose them. Just at this time one of the stolen sheep made its escape

and ran towards its accustomed pasture. At sight of this the Bacas charged, and a battle ensued, in which the Pondos lost nine men and the Bacas had three killed and three wounded. The Pondos were beaten, and two of their kraals were burnt by the victors.

As this battle took place on Pondo ground, Umqikela asserted that the Bacas were the aggressors, and asked for a commission of inquiry. The government acceded to his request, and Messrs. J. T. Wylde and W. G. Cumming were appointed commissioners. They met the Pondos sent by Umqikela to represent him, and on the 29th and 31st of August an investigation took place. The Pondo commissioners were dumbfounded by the evidence of one of their own witnesses, Umbali the border chief. In trying to clear himself of the charges made by the Bacas, he asserted that the thefts complained of had not been committed by his people but by Pondos living farther from the line, who had driven the stolen cattle through his kraal. It was clearly proved that while no efforts were made by the Pondos to suppress cattle lifting, there were no cases in which theft from Pondos by Bacas had not been redressed. With this issue of the investigation, it might be supposed that Umqikela would have done something to prevent similar cases in future, but nothing of the kind happened.

Early in October the chief magistrate of Griqualand East reported that numerous stock thefts were being committed by the Pondos from the Xesibes, and that there were several instances of Pondos crossing the line and making gardens on Xesibe ground. Umqikela had sent him a letter informing him that he would take no steps to prevent thefts from the Xesibes.

At this time a deputation from the Pondo tribe visited Capetown, with the object of trying to obtain from the high commissioner redress for what they regarded as grievances. The deputation consisted of Mr.

Donald Strachan and three other Europeans, with Umhlangaso and five other Pondos. On the 27th of October they had an interview with the high commissioner in presence of two members of the ministry. Their grievances were the occupation of Port St. John's and the annexation of the Xesibe district. In the plainest language, and over and over again, his Excellency informed them that these questions could not be reopened, but that in all other matters the government was prepared to act most liberally towards them. They continued, however, to harp upon these subjects, contended that the government might remove the Xesibes by force and give them the ground, and persistently declined to deal with any other matter until these questions were settled in their favour.

Nothing therefore came of the conference, but a little later an arrangement was made by the secretary for native affairs that the deputation upon its return to Pondoland should call a meeting of the tribe and ascertain whether the people would consent to arrange all differences, letting the questions of the Xesibe district and Port St. John's be considered as finally closed. If this were agreed to, Mr. De Wet undertook to proceed to Pondoland and deal with Umqikela in the most liberal manner. The deputation then left Capetown and returned home.

The arrival of Umhlangaso in Pondoland was the signal for a renewal of the border disturbances. The Hlubi headman William Nota had been living in the Rode from a date several years before the Pondo occupation of that district. This man was on friendly terms with the Bacas, which was sufficient cause to bring on him Pondo vengeance. Some horses were stolen by Pondos from the Bacas beyond the Rode, and when the Bacas retaliated Nota gave the Pondos no assistance. To draw Nota's people on, a pretended quarrel at a beer-drinking party was arranged by Josiah Jenkins,

and the Hlubis were then attacked. But the Pondos got more than they expected. After Nota was harassed for several days, on the 16th of November the Baca chief Nomtsheketshe crossed the border to his aid and Josiah was driven back from the Rode. Several Pondo kraals were looted. Other forces then arrived, and in turn Nota was obliged to flee.

The chief magistrate of Griqualand East called upon Umqikela to cause hostilities to cease, and reminded him that he had given a guarantee to treat Nota fairly. To this Umqikela replied on the 21st of November that Nota could not return to the Rode before an investigation took place, and on the 12th of December he sent his messenger Bulawako to say that Nota had forfeited all right to his former place of residence. He requested that the Hlubi headman should be removed to British territory, as he was still holding a position on the Pondo side of the line, or that the Bacas should be restrained from helping him while the Pondos drove him out. And on the 28th of November the ground which Nota had occupied in the Rode was given to a party of Griquas in a formal document signed by Umhlangaso for Umqikela.

At this time a solitary act of justice occurred on the part of the Pondos. Three head of cattle which had been stolen from some Xesibes were restored by the Pondo chief Umdutshana, and the thieves were fined a goat and a sheep.

For some months apprehensions had been felt that a coalition between Umqikela and Nquiliso was impending. McNicholas was exerting himself to bring this about, and there were indications that Nquiliso was less friendly to the colonial government than he once had been. The principal of these was that he had closed the main road from King-Williamstown to Kokstad which ran through a projecting point of his territory bordering on the Untata river, thus causing all traffic to make a

detour of several kilometres. After the purchase from him of the little slip of land at the mouth of the Umzimvubu, a road from the port towards Umtata had been constructed for a short distance, but the work had then been suspended. Nquiliso now maintained that the colonial government, having done nothing to it for so many years, had lost its right to construct a new road to Umtata according to the original agreement. He admitted the right of the government to use the old road from the port to Umtata, but not to make a new one. The old road was much longer than was necessary, and was so steep in places that it was of little use. Another unsatisfactory matter was the virtual protection given by the Western Pondos to cattle thieves.

It seemed to the government a matter of much importance to maintain a good understanding with Nquiliso, and the secretary for native affairs therefore had a conference with him on the eastern bank of the Umtata on the 7th of December 1885. The chief magistrates of Tembuland and Griqualand East were present at the meeting. Nquiliso was attended by his counsellors and a considerable number of people. Mr. De Wet stated that it was his earnest desire to be on the most friendly terms with the Western Pondos, and he felt confident that they were similarly disposed. There was no grave subject of difference between them, but there were some minor matters causing irritation; these he would mention, and they could then discuss them amicably. He brought forward the subjects above named.

Nquiliso replied that the reason the great eastern road running through the point of his territory had been closed was because the redwater disease had got among his cattle through it. For this reason also his people did not wish a new road opened from Port St. John's to Umtata. With regard to giving protection to cattle thieves, he complained that people living in colonial territory stole from him without his obtaining any

redress, and he mentioned Pali, chief of the little clan termed the Amatshezi, as the great offender in this respect. He spoke a good deal about the right of the Western Pondos to independence of Umqikela.

The secretary for native affairs in reply brought to Nquiliso's notice that the redwater was already everywhere in the country, that closing old roads or preventing new ones being opened would not eradicate it, that although the roads were made and kept in repair at the exclusive cost of the Cape Colony the Pondos had as much right to use them as British subjects had, and that steps would be taken to compel Pali to abstain from annoying his neighbours, though that chief was not altogether under colonial authority. He wished Nquiliso and his people to consent to the construction by the government of a road from Port St. John's to Umtata wherever it could be made most easily, with a branch in the direction of Shawbury; to sell the few kilometres of the main road from King-Williamstown to Kokstad which was in their territory; and to agree to the mutual surrender of fugitive thieves. He was asking them for no privileges for British subjects in their territory, he said, which he was not prepared to give to Pondos—which in fact they already had—in the Cape Colony. He desired them to discuss these questions among themselves before giving a reply, and if they needed any further explanations to ask Major Elliot for them. As for the claim of the Western Pondos to be entirely independent of Umqikela, the colonial government had dealt with Nquiliso as an independent chief ever since 1878, and would continue to do so.

Nquiliso and his people left the meeting on the best of terms with the secretary for native affairs, and the result was that after some negotiation through Major Elliot, they gave their approval to the construction of the best road that could be made from Port St. John's to Umtata with a branch towards Shawbury, agreed to

sell the portion of the great eastern road which was in their territory for £15, and consented to the extradition of runaway cattle thieves.

The position of the Amatshezi chief Pali was an obstacle to dealing with the Western Pondos in a satisfactory manner. His clan had come down from the far north during the time of the Zulu conquests, and had been located by the Tembu chief Vusani on a tract of land west of the Umtata and close to the coast. For half a century the Amatshezi had been living there, nominally in a state of vassalage to the Tembus, but really in a condition of independence. When Gangelizwe ceded Tembuland, Pali ignored the new authorities. The position which he assumed interfered with the course of justice. Complaints of robberies committed by his people, and even of murders, were frequently made by British subjects who believed themselves entitled to redress by the government.

Pali was therefore required to submit. Nquiliso willingly assisted to bring him to terms, by closing the fords of the Umtata against him and supplying an armed force to drive him back if he should attempt to make his escape. The Galeka chief Kreli, who was then living on a tract of land in Elliotdale purchased by the government from the Bomvans chief Langa, son of Moni, and given to him as a location, did the same on the other side. A company of the Cape mounted rifles marched to his kraal, when Pali, finding himself surrounded and unsupported, made his submission to Major Elliot, chief magistrate of Tembuland. On the 30th of May 1886 an agreement was entered into with him, by which he admitted himself to be a British subject. He was placed under the jurisdiction of the resident magistrate of Mqanduli, and thereafter his people were liable to punishment for crime. They behaved tolerably well, and one of the standing difficulties in the government of the country and the maintenance of friendly relations with

the Western Pondos was surmounted by their subjection to colonial authority.

After the conference with Nquliso the secretary for native affairs proceeded on his tour. As no intimation had reached him that the Eastern Pondos were willing to come to terms, he concluded that it would not only be useless but a sacrifice of self-respect to visit Umqikela. To leave every avenue open for an accommodation of the differences, however, he caused a message to be sent to the chief that he would be in Kokstad from the 10th to the 14th of December, and would be prepared to receive and deal with any communications from him.

On the 9th of December 1885 Mr. De Wet met Josiah Jenkins at Nceba. Josiah complained of the assistance given by the Bacas to William Nota, and stated that Umqikela's decision was that Nota had forfeited all rights as a Pondo subject. In Umqikela's name he asked that the government should remove Nota from Pondo territory or restrain the Bacas from interfering while the Pondos drove him out. Mr. De Wet replied that he was ready to assist in a friendly and peaceable arrangement of matters in connection with the disturbances in the Rode, but from what he had just heard, as well as from earlier information, it was clear that Umqikela, without considering Nota's version of what had taken place, had given his decision, and under these circumstances he did not see how he could take part in a settlement. The government would not remove Nota, nor could he admit that Umqikela had a right to drive that headman and his people into colonial territory. Any advance made by the Pondos towards a reasonable solution of the difficulties would be promptly met by the government.

On the 19th of December Umqikela sent a message to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, intimating his willingness to treat on other terms than those demanded by the deputation in Capetown, and asking that a com-

missioner should be sent, as the chiefs and people were prepared to assemble and discuss matters. Thereupon Mr. W. E. Stanford was appointed commissioner, and Umqikela fixed the 7th of January 1886 as the day of meeting. The first object which the government had in view was the protection of the boundary, and it was therefore necessary to induce Umqikela to prevent cattle thefts by punishing the thieves. It was necessary also to induce him to remove all restrictions from legitimate trade. In addition to these objects, Mr. Stanford was instructed to endeavour to purchase the Rode, including the main road through it, and he was authorised to offer £3,000 for its cession. He was further authorised to offer Umqikela £2,000 as compensation for the loss of presents which he at one time received from persons landing cargo at Port St. John's, provided the Pondos would acknowledge the right of the colonial government to the port and grant the further right to construct and maintain roads to Kokstad with necessary outspans from any port that might be opened in Eastern Pondoland. Such roads were to be without tolls, and Pondos were also to have the free use of them. Mr. Stanford was authorised to raise his offer to £7,000 in all rather than allow negotiations to fall through.

Mr. Stanford was at Umqikela's kraal on the 7th as arranged, but was kept waiting until the 11th, when the leading chiefs and counsellors of the tribe assembled, and the conference commenced. It was at once evident that the Pondos were unwilling to discuss any questions whatever or to enter into arrangements of any kind until the government conceded their demands with regard to the Xesibe district and Port St. John's. Argument on the part of the commissioner and of Mr. Donald Strachan, continued throughout the 12th, was of no avail. Umqikela himself appeared willing to yield, but Umhlangaso was obstinate. All that Mr. Stanford could effect was to obtain Umqikela's promise to issue orders that Pondos

stealing from Bacas were to be punished, but the chief repeated the statement he had already made by letter, that no Xesibe stock traced into Pondoland would be restored while the question of Jojo being taken over by the colonial government remained unsettled.

On the 8th of February a party of Pondos fired across the Umzimvubu at a kraal on the Mount Frere side occupied by the headman Nomtsheketshe, and wounded a young man named Siwene. The act was entirely unprovoked. Nomtsheketshe's people assembled and returned the fire, but though a good deal of powder was burned on both sides, no further damage was done.

On the same day Umhlangaso, who professed that he had been instructed by Umqikela to investigate the cause of the disturbance in the Rode, attacked William Nota and drove him into Gogela's location on the Griqualand side of the border. Gogela's people, Nomtsheketshe's Bacas, and some others went to Nota's assistance, when the Pondos fell back over the boundary. The allies of Nota followed them, and a battle took place on the Pondo side of the line, in which some ten Pondos and fifteen Bacas were killed. Two days later Umhlangaso wrote to the chief magistrate that he was to keep William Nota and his people in Griqualand East, as the Pondos did not want him and would not have him.

For some time the policy of the Eastern Pondo chiefs had been to drive into Griqualand East all persons who would not fuse with their tribe. Independently of the Bacas, the Pondomsis, the Xesibes, and the people of Alfred county in Natal, a very large proportion of those who had been subjected to Pondo supremacy by the treaty of 1844 were unwilling to become Pondos in reality. In recent years great numbers of these had been accused of dealing in witchcraft, and had fled for their lives to the already crowded locations on the colonial side of the boundary. This was what the Pondos desired that the Xesibes should do. They did not want the people,

but the ground which they occupied. The Pondos were like all Bantu tribes in a condition of comparative peace, increasing in number so rapidly that they desired territory to expand upon, and in this manner they were endeavouring to acquire it, as was only natural under the circumstances.

They were therefore desirous that William Nota should be provided for by the colonial government. But the great permanent difficulty with the European authorities was to provide ground for their own subjects, who were increasing at an amazing rate, and they could not be burdened with refugees from Pondoland. There was no vacant space on which Nota's people could be located, and a remonstrance against his expulsion was therefore sent to Umqikela, though it was deemed inexpedient to maintain him in the Rode by force. Just previously the number of Bacas and Xesibes to whom rifles had been issued was increased to a thousand of each tribe, and the colonial forces on the border had been strengthened with a view of trying to prevent the constant disturbances.

On the 21st of March a theft of two horses by Pondos from Xesibes led to a reprisal, upon which a Pondo army was mustered, and the Xesibe country was invaded. The Xesibes hastened to meet the invaders, and a skirmish took place, in which the Pondos were repulsed with a loss of twenty-two killed. The Xesibe loss was less, and they followed up the fugitives and burnt several kraals. That so small a clan was able to obtain a victory over a force greatly superior to itself in number is surprising, but the Xesibes had long been noted for bravery. In course of time, however, they would certainly have disappeared through attrition, if the Europeans had not come to their assistance, as they were unable to bear such losses as the Pondos were hardly affected by.

On the 25th of March the Baca chief Makaula raised a strong force, with which he took possession of the Rode and restored to William Nota the ground from

which he had been expelled. He then announced his intention to keep possession of the remainder of the Rode; but the secretary for native affairs required him to return to Mount Frere, and informed him that munitions of war had been supplied to the Bacas to defend themselves on their own ground and not for aggressive purposes. The government, he added, could not countenance an invasion of Pondo territory.

NOTE.—That the Pondos are the most backward of all the tribes between the river Kei and Natal is shown by their comparative disregard of the education of their children in mission schools. In this respect the Fingos are the most advanced. In 1904 there were in Transkei 245 schools, attended by 12,441 children, in Tembuland 225 schools, attended by 7,449 children, in Griqualand East 289 schools, attended by 11,577 children, and in Pondoland only 90 schools, attended by 2,269 children. In these statistics, taken from the census returns of 1904, European children and schools attended solely by them are included, but their number is not very large. There is no reason why there should not be as many children receiving the benefit of primary education in Pondoland as in Transkei, except the lack of interest on the part of the parents.

CHAPTER IX.

FURTHER ANNEXATION OF BANTU TERRITORY (*continued*).

SUCH raids and skirmishes as those of which an account is given in these chapters were ordinary occurrences in the life of all independent Bantu tribes. They provided that occasional excitement which people of every race are fond of, and they served the useful purpose of keeping up the bodily vigour and courage of the adult males. To some extent also they were a check upon too rapid an increase of population, though as the loss of life was almost confined to men, in a state of society where polygamy prevailed this effect was not very marked. But natural as such a state of things seemed to the Bantu, it could not be regarded with complacency by the European authorities, where half the actors were British subjects, and any accident might cause the disturbances to spread far into British territory. It would not have been tolerated as long as it was, had not the imperial government refused to consent to an act apparently so high-handed as the summary substitution of colonial authority for that of the Pondo chief.

So matters went on as before, with an occasional lull in cattle lifting and skirmishes, and now and again a brief effort on the part of the Pondo ruler to accommodate himself to the opinions of the white man. Thus on the 6th of May 1886 Umqikela issued a notice withdrawing his order imposing duties on waggons coming from the Cape Colony and tolls on the main road. The secretary for native affairs at once informed him that this action was accepted as an indication of the chief's wish to arrive at a satisfactory and permanent

settlement of the relations between him and the colony, and that the government trusted he would give effect to his pacific intentions by appointing an early day for the meeting of his delegates with representatives of the colony for the purpose of arranging matters.

The fair prospect of an amicable settlement was, however, almost immediately clouded by the action of Umhlangaso, who threatened an invasion of the Xesibe district, and openly made preparations for war. Thereupon Lieutenant Sampson was sent to Umqikela to inform him that "an invasion of the Xesibe country or any other portion of colonial territory by an organised force of Pondos would be regarded as an open declaration of war against the Cape Colony." This message was delivered on the 18th of June. As the hostile threats and preparations of Umhlangaso continued, a large quantity of arms and ammunition was sent to the frontier posts, and the military force in Griqualand East was increased to three hundred and twenty-three effective combatants.

On the 3rd of August four head of cattle were stolen from a Xesibe named Rumka. The spoor was traced towards Pondoland, and on the following day Rumka and his friends seized in reprisal four cows and twenty-five goats belonging to the clan of the Amanci under Qipu, who were afterwards discovered to have been free of guilt in the original theft. The war cry was raised, the Xesibes were pursued, one of them was wounded, and both Xesibes and Amanci collected on the boundary. The magistrate of Mount Ayliff proceeded to the scene and induced the Xesibes to retire from the border. The Amanci, joined by the people of Tshetsha and some others, then invaded the Xesibe district, but were met by a well organised force and driven back. On the border they took to flight, but were pursued by the Xesibes, when over a hundred of them were killed, sixty-eight of the Amanci being among the number. The con-

querors burnt twenty kraals and took possession of about two hundred head of cattle, which, however, were returned to Qipu as soon as those taken from Rumka were given up.

On the 19th of August Umqikela's secretary addressed a letter to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, in which he said: "The paramount chief of Pondoland desires me to inform you that in consequence of the invasion of Pondoland on the 6th instant and massacre of over a hundred of his people by an army of Bacas and Xesibes, he must now consider the necessity of declining all further communications with the government of the Cape Colony or its officials pending an appeal to the high commissioner, as according to the message of that government delivered by Lieutenant Sampson any invasion of the Xesibe country or any other portion of colonial territory by an organised force of Pondos would be regarded as an open declaration of war against the colony, an organised force of Xesibes and Bacas having invaded Pondoland, the chief considers the Cape government has declared war upon the Pondos."

The difficulty was increased at this time by the action of outside parties, which led the Pondos to believe that the Europeans were divided among themselves. In August a deputation from the *Kokstad Political Association* visited Umqikela with the object of obtaining the coöperation of the Pondos in petitioning the imperial government to send out a commission of inquiry and form a crown colony of Transkei, Tembuland, Griqualand East, Pondoland, and Basutoland. Messrs. Passmore and Fowle, who formed the deputation, were received in a friendly manner, but failed in the object of their mission.

There had been some correspondence between Umqikela's secretary and Mr. H. Escombe, of Durban, concerning Pondoland being taken under the protection of Natal, the object being to play off one colony against

the other. This did little harm, but on the 18th of October the legislative council of Natal adopted without a division an address to the lieutenant-governor as follows: "The legislative council beg respectfully to request your Excellency to take such measures as your Excellency may deem fit for the union of Pondoland to Natal, and that your Excellency will inform the secretary of state for the colonies that this colony protests against any and all proposals for the political separation of the two countries."

In July Umqikela had proposed to the secretary for native affairs that the matters in dispute between the Cape government and the Pondos should be submitted to the decision of a board of arbitrators, and named as his representatives Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Colonel Charles Duncan Griffith, and Mr. John James Irvine. In reply, Mr. De Wet desired to be informed what matters he wished to submit to arbitration. The grievances which the Cape government had against the Pondos were that they stole cattle from the Xesibes and Bacas, and refused to restore them. This matter was surely no subject for arbitration, and should be settled by the chief. The other matters upon which negotiations had taken place—the extension of British sovereignty over Mount Ayliff and Port St. John's and the offer to purchase the Rode—were not subjects for arbitration, and on these grounds the government declined to entertain the proposal, but any offer made by the chief would receive due consideration.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone was then appealed to by the Pondos for advice, but expressed his unwillingness to interfere in any way without the consent of the Cape government. The whole correspondence in connection with the matter was then forwarded by the lieutenant-governor of Natal to the secretary of state for the colonies, who on the 20th of September wrote as follows :

“You will perceive that the so-called claims of the Pondos consist chiefly in demands that the St. John’s river mouth territory should be receded to them, and that the Xesibes or their country should be given up to them. The St. John’s river mouth territory has for some years been incorporated with the Cape Colony, and by a decision of my immediate predecessor the same course has now been taken with the Xesibe country. The demands of the Pondos, as expressed by their European advisers, are therefore clearly inadmissible, and nothing remains for them but to adopt the offers made by the Cape government and the high commissioner that they should treat on the basis of receiving a pecuniary solatium in consideration of what it has rightly or wrongly been deemed necessary on grounds of policy to take from them. Indeed, I have some reason to believe, from information placed before me within the last few days, that the Pondos and their advisers are preparing to depart from the impracticable attitude assumed by them during the conference at Capetown in October 1885. In these circumstances it would only seem to retard a satisfactory solution of the pending difficulties if the Pondos were to appear to receive encouragement from any persons of authority outside the immediate circle of those hitherto concerned with the negotiations.”

In August six head of cattle were stolen from the Bacas by the people of the petty chief Magatyana, who refused to restore them. The Bacas then made a reprisal, by burning four of Magatyana’s kraals, seizing nineteen head of cattle, and killing one Pondo.

In November the government caused a return of thefts of cattle during the period from the 1st of November 1884 to the 31st of October 1886 to be made up as accurately as possible by the officers on the border. This showed that eight hundred and seventy-six head had been taken by the Pondos from the Xesibes and

Bacas, of which one hundred and thirty-eight head had been recovered. Five hundred and ninety-one head had been taken by the Xesibes and Bacas from the Pondos, of which four hundred and seventy head had been restored. The balance against the Pondos was six hundred and seventeen head.

Rumours that Umhlangaso was threatening to attack the Xesibes had been rife for many months, but it was hoped that the strengthening of the military posts on the border and the issue of arms to the Bacas and Xesibes would prevent his threats being put into execution. On the 20th of October, however, a Pondo force at the lowest estimate four thousand strong, in five divisions, led by Ketshwayo, Umqikela's eldest son, assisted by Umhlangaso and other men of position in the tribe, invaded the Xesibe country. The Xesibes, taken by surprise, made a very feeble resistance, their attention being mainly directed to driving their cattle to places of safety. The attack was made so suddenly that there was not time to bring the Cape mounted riflemen against the invaders, who retired at five o'clock in the afternoon, having burnt about fifty Xesibe kraals. Three Xesibes were killed and three wounded, and twelve Pondos were killed.

Bags containing food were found with the Pondo corpses, indicating that the expedition had been thoroughly organised. It was afterwards ascertained that an army of about fifteen thousand men had been assembled at Emfundisweni, where it was divided into two sections. One of these marched against the Xesibes, the other was intended to operate against the Bacas and those border clans who though nominally Pondo vassals were known by the Pondo chiefs to be hostile at heart. Owing to jealousy and division among themselves, the last section had done nothing, while the first had carried out the task assigned to it. This great army had been collected from all the genuine Pondo kraals

east of the Umzimvubu except one large clan which was left to watch Port St. John's.

As soon as the intelligence reached Kokstad, the chief magistrate of Griqualand East, taking with him all the Cape mounted riflemen available, hastened to the Xesibe country. He found the Xesibes somewhat dispirited, owing to the large destruction of their huts and household effects and the strength of the force opposed to them. The Pondos were encamped behind some ridges well within their own territory, and showed themselves on the 21st, but did not approach the border again.

On the 24th of October the government directed a corps of six hundred men to be raised in the district of Umzimkulu to strengthen the military force in the Xesibe country, and volunteers to be enrolled and held in readiness to move wherever required. The secretary for native affairs, when authorising this, stated that "whilst the government felt it to be their duty to defend her Majesty's subjects in their own country, and to inflict by all the means at their command the severest possible punishment upon the Pondos when they invade British territory, it was their wish for the present not to invade Pondoland." He added that while the regular forces should therefore be forbidden to cross the boundary, it would be dangerous to put too much strain upon the Bacas and Xesibes, for by so doing their loyalty might be destroyed.

It was expected every moment that the Pondos would make another attack. According to reports, the Basuto were about to aid the Pondos, and the Pondosi chief Umhlonhlo was pledged to do the same. On the other hand, several Pondo vassal chiefs sent to assure the chief magistrate of Griqualand East that they would not fight against the colonial government. Tshatsha, a Pondo vassal, allied himself with the Bacas, and William Nota's clan was armed on the side of the government.

On the 28th of October three hundred more men were enrolled in the Umzimkulu district and sent to the Pondo-Xesibe border. Horsemen were paid three shillings and footmen two shillings a day, on condition that they could be disbanded at any time on a week's notice. All available Cape mounted riflemen were at the same time ordered to proceed to the scene of disturbance with as little delay as possible. As soon as a sufficient force should be concentrated on the border, it was the intention of the colonial government to make a formal demand upon Umqikela to explain his conduct in reference to the invasion of British territory by the Pondo forces on the 20th of October, and eventually for such reparation as might be decided upon.

On the 29th of October some three or four hundred Xesibes made a rapid dash into Pondoland, burnt the kraals of the chief Ntola, and killed two Pondos, with a loss to themselves of one man wounded. On the same day a public meeting was held at Kokstad to discuss affairs, when seventy Griquas offered their services, of whom fifty were enrolled and sent to the front.

By the 5th of November the government had a sufficient force on the Pondo-Xesibe border to ensure superiority in strength in case the Pondos should attempt another invasion, and on that day Mr. Stanford was directed to send to Umqikela the following message:

"After many gross outrages committed by your people against persons resident in colonial territory, notwithstanding the efforts made by the colonial government to establish a lasting peace on the Pondo border, you were informed in March last that your hostile acts could be tolerated no longer, and you were then warned that any invasion of the Xesibe country or any other part of colonial territory by an organised force would be regarded as an open declaration of war against the colony. In defiance of that warning your people have not only continued to commit outrages upon the life and property

of her Majesty's subjects in colonial territory, but acting on a preconceived plan a large organised and equipped force of your people collected at and about the great place, and marched under your own personal command to Emfundisweni, where the command was transferred to your two sons and Umhlangaso, your chief counsellor, for the purpose of invading colonial territory. Subsequently that force on the 20th ultimo, headed as mentioned above, deliberately and wantonly invaded colonial territory, committed murder, and destroyed many huts and much property. Under these circumstances the government is now bound to call upon you to give in writing an explanation of your open declaration of war together with such offer of reparation and proposals for the future control of your people as you may wish to make, such writing or written reply to be delivered to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East at such place as he may appoint within four days from the receipt of this message. In case of your failure so to do, or in case your explanation, offer, and proposals be not deemed by the colonial government to be satisfactory, you are hereby warned that upon you rest the consequences."

The display of force had the effect of causing several chiefs to tender their services to the government. Dalindyebo offered the chief magistrate of Tembuland to call out any number of his Tembus that might be required. The Galeka chief Kreli sent to Major Elliot to say that he was ready to obey the orders of the government to the utmost of his power. One chief in Western Pondoland and four of the most powerful Eastern Pondo vassals sent word to say that in case Pondoland should be invaded by the government forces they would assist them. At the call of the magistrate of Matatiele, George Moshesh joined the Abalondolozⁱ* with a considerable following.

* The Protectors, the name assumed by the Bantu levies under Commandant Donald Strachan.

The Amanci chief Qipu sent the following message to Umqikela: "I shall now hand myself and people over to the colonial government. My people and brothers have been killed in a fight with government people brought about by Pondo thieves who still have the cattle in their possession. Had you come into collision with the colonial government on some question which justified your going to war, I would have loyally supported you and fought to the last on your side, but I cannot fight for a country governed by thieves and in a thieves' war."

In his reply to Qipu, Umqikela threw upon Umhlangaso the blame for the condition of the country; but in his answer to the government message delivered to him on the 7th of November he assumed another tone. He at first asked for an extension of the four days allowed him for consideration, as he said that period was too short for consultation with his sub-chiefs. The time was then extended to the 13th of November. On the 11th his counsellors, with Umhlangaso and the reverend Mr. Hargreaves, had a meeting at Emfundisweni, and on the 13th the following letter was delivered to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East by the counsellors Notanda and Bulawako with six attendants, the reverend Mr. Hargreaves, and Mr. Bowles, a trader in Pondoland:

"In your message to me I am accused of having equipped, organised, and collected at the great place a force to invade colonial territory. This I deny for the following reasons: according to our custom when an army leaves the great place to invade a foreign territory certain ceremonies have to be gone through, which have existed for time immemorial and are well known to both black and white. Presuming that you refer to the attack on the 20th ultimo upon the Xesibe kraals, I can call many white inhabitants to prove that the custom ukwelapa* was not gone through. How then can

* Ukwelapa is the ceremony of preparing the army for war by the tribal priest.

I personally be charged with having organised as stated, as I did not leave the great place for some days after, and when I heard that my son Ketshwayo had started I sent a special messenger telling him to return. The truth is, my people were uncontrollable, as they were smarting under a defeat in which one hundred and twenty-nine of my people, the Amanci, were killed by the Xesibes. I beg to assure you of my sincere desire to maintain, as my forefathers have ever done, peace and goodwill towards the Cape colonial government, and I sincerely trust that this feeling is reciprocated. For this reason I must ask you to consent to an extension of time to consult with my chiefs and headmen. As I cannot thoroughly comprehend what you mean by reparation, may I solicit the favour of your appointing a commission to meet my subordinate chiefs and indunas at any convenient place within a reasonable time to fully consider all matters referred to in your communication, which will I trust be the means of bringing about a lasting peace and of placing all matters political and otherwise upon a satisfactory basis. I crave this indulgence and extension of time to thoroughly consider all the points referred to in your message, so that should my wish be granted I have no doubt the delay will mutually be productive of good."

This letter, though written in Umqikela's name, was the production of a European, as its phraseology shows. Josiah Jenkins was not its author. But if there is sometimes a difficulty in dealing with barbarians who are prompted by clever white men, there is often an advantage in being able to ascertain at once all the strong points in an adverse case. It was so in this instance. War, according to the writer of the letter, had not been intended by the chief, or the army would certainly have been prepared for it in the only manner known to the Bantu, for according to their ideas it was as necessary that a warrior should be fortified for battle as that

he should carry weapons of offence. But the weak point on this occasion was that the advisers of the chief had induced him to omit the ceremony purposely to furnish him with a plea thereafter, and dependence had been placed on overwhelming numbers rather than on immunity from harm by the enemy.

The government agreed to an extension of time for the purpose indicated. On the 24th of November a great meeting was held at Umqikela's residence, but it was not attended by the border chiefs. On the 29th Umqikela sent a message to Mr. Stanford, chief magistrate of Griqualand East, asking that officer to meet him or his representatives on the 2nd of December, and it was arranged that the conference should take place at Fort Donald in the Xesibe district.

There were various disquieting circumstances at the time which prevented the government from reducing the large force assembled on the border. Certain Europeans were instigating the Pondos to pursue a course which could only end in disaster to the tribe while involving the Cape Colony in difficulties, and their advice was listened to by some of the chiefs. Then there was a general slaughter of the swine, which was afterwards ascertained to have been caused by fear of disease, but which at the time was believed by many to be a superstitious act such as those which occur before nearly every war. On the 15th of November Umqikela's eldest son Ketshwayo—the same who commanded in the raid of the 20th of October—died suddenly, and it was generally supposed that his death would have a disquieting effect.

On the 2nd of December Mr. Stanford was at Fort Donald, but Umqikela did not arrive. It had been raining very heavily, and the excuse which he sent was that his sub-chiefs had not been able to assemble. Umhlangaso and the reverend Mr. Hargreaves, who appeared for the chief, stated that the Pondos were

anxious to discuss all matters in dispute, and requested Mr. Stanford to postpone the conference to the 6th and consent to its taking place at Emfundisweni, where they said Umqikela would meet him. Mr. Stanford agreed to the postponement, which was inevitable; but for obvious reasons could not agree to Emfundisweni as the place of meeting. He proposed Ntola's kraal, about twenty minutes' ride beyond the border, and this the Pondo delegates agreed to.

As a chief of Umqikela's rank, in accordance with Bantu custom, could not travel in his own country without a large following, and as it was certain that on this occasion the Pondos would be armed and appear in great strength, Mr. Stanford took with him all the forces on the border, under command of Colonel Bayly, to show that while the colonial government was desirous of peace, it was prepared for war if war must come. The Pondo delegates were informed of the course that would be taken, in order to protect the government against the charge of marching an armed force into Pondoland, which the chiefs would be sure to make in the event of a disturbance.

In view of the negotiations which were about to take place, Mr. Stanford was informed by the secretary for native affairs that "the questions of the annexation of the Xesibe country and of Port St. John's must be looked upon as closed books." Since 1878 that position had been maintained by both the imperial and the colonial governments, and it could not be receded from. The government, however, was still prepared to carry out its former offers of a solatium with respect to these matters, if the Pondos should be willing to arrange the questions of raids and thefts satisfactorily.

On the 6th of December Mr. Stanford arrived at Ntola's kraal. Colonel Bayly selected a site for a camp for the Cape mounted riflemen near the Kokstad side of the kraal, and the Abalondolozu under Commandant

Strachan took up a position in the rear. A little later Umqikela's sons Sigcawu and Hamu, accompanied by Umhlangaso and other chiefs, and attended by about two thousand armed followers, arrived at the kraal. The chiefs with the reverend Mr. Hargreaves and fifty unarmed men rode to the camp, and greeted Mr. Stanford and Colonel Bayly. Umhlangaso expressed regret that owing to illness, Umqikela was unable to keep the appointment he had made, and informed the chief magistrate that he and Umqikela's sons had been authorised to open the discussion. Mr. Stanford inquired if they had full authority from Umqikela to treat. Umhlangaso replied they had not, as it was uncertain whether Umqikela might not still be able to be present. Mr. Stanford said that under these circumstances he must decline to recognise them as representatives of Umqikela, with whom the colonial government had to deal. Umhlangaso then offered to send a messenger to Umqikela immediately to ask him to come at once, or, if he was unable to travel, to authorise representatives to act in his stead and with his full authority. Mr. Stanford gave his consent to this proposal, and it was arranged that the result should be made known on the following day.

On the 7th of December the Pondo deputies assembled in the afternoon, when Mr. Stanford met them and inquired what answer had been received from Umqikela. Maboza, a counsellor, replied that the chief was very ill and would not be able to attend. Mr. Stanford then asked if those present were authorised to represent the great chief, and to deal fully and decisively with the questions that required settlement. Maboza made answer that, although the chief was ill, he was not dead, and that those present would discuss matters, but refer the decision to Umqikela. Mr. Stanford objected at once and finally to this scheme, whereupon Umhlangaso spoke up saying they had full power.

To make sure of his position with such wily diplomats, Mr. Stanford stated that the colonial government had to deal with Umqikela; that Umqikela had promised to attend a conference at Fort Donald, but had failed to do so; that he had then promised to attend at Ntola's kraal, and had again failed to keep his engagement; but if they were fully empowered to act in his name, he was prepared to proceed with the negotiations. This being assented to, Umhlangaso asked for a statement of what the government desired.

Mr. Stanford then commenced the discussion of the questions at issue. He spoke of the invasion of the Xesibe district on the 20th of October, and demanded satisfaction for it, pointing out particularly that it was not an instance of ordinary border disturbance, but was a premeditated and regularly organised attack by the whole tribe. From that matter he proceeded to the question of border control generally, and demanded the establishment of a system under which colonial subjects could obtain redress from Pondos for crimes committed against them. He referred next to the disturbances in the Rode, which resulted from Pondo misgovernment, and which would prove a constant source of irritation unless some decisive remedy were applied. And lastly, he alluded to the closing of the waggon road that had been in use for many years and the refusal to allow its repair.

Having heard Mr. Stanford's statements, the Pondo representatives retired to consult together. When they had done so, they returned, and agreed to open the road from Port St. John's to Kokstad and allow construction, repairs, and outspan places wherever necessary, to establish in conjunction with the chief magistrate of Griqualand East a better system on the border, and to carry out, especially in cases of theft, their own laws with regard to the punishment of thieves and the restoration of stolen property or compensation for it.

The condition of the Rode was then discussed. The Pondos were willing to cede it to the Cape Colony in exchange for land elsewhere; but as that would mean reopening the Xesibe question, Mr. Stanford declined to entertain it. He offered to purchase the Rode for cash, and the representatives took the night to consider the proposal.

On the 8th of December the conference was renewed in the afternoon. The matter of the Rode was the first brought forward, but after a brief discussion it was allowed to stand over, and the question of a solatium for the Xesibe district and Port St. John's was brought on. The Pondo representatives maintained that before 1878 they had received an amount of money from every vessel that put into Port St. John's, of which they had been deprived since that date, and they therefore maintained that they had a right to a share of the customs dues collected there. Mr. Stanford proposed to pay them a sum of money at once, but this they declined. They asked for £300 a year in perpetuity. Mr. Stanford offered £200, and this they accepted. It was agreed that the solatium for the Xesibe district should be £1,000 in money, the amount being less than the government was prepared to give in 1885, owing to the subsequent conduct of the Pondos.

The matter of the Rode was then brought on again, and a long discussion ensued. Mr. Stanford laid great stress upon the invasion of the 20th of October and the expense to which the Cape Colony had been put in sending forces to the border. The purchase money, as finally agreed upon, was £600; and the chief magistrate of Griqualand East then, in the name of the government, informed the Pondo representatives that no further question would be raised regarding the late raid. The boundary of the Rode was decided to be the great waggon road from King-Williamstown to Kokstad and Natal. This arrangement was reduced to writing, Josiah

Jenkins acting as secretary, and was formally signed and witnessed. On the 10th of February 1887 it was confirmed by Umqikela, who at the same time issued a proclamation to that effect in the style of a European potentate, and it was finally ratified by Sir Hercules Robinson as governor and high commissioner on the 12th of March 1887.

After this settlement of the grievances which the Pondos naturally had on account of the loss of territory once recognised as theirs, matters went on better for a time. Roads were constructed from Port St. John's to Umtata in one direction and to Kokstad in the other, without any interference by the chiefs or people, and the little traffic upon them was not disturbed. Thefts of cattle continued, but in some instances the stolen property was restored, though the thieves were allowed to go unpunished, so that others were not deterred from committing the same offence.

In October 1887 Umqikela died. He had ruined his strong constitution by drunkenness, and had long been in a feeble state of health. He recognised that his end was hastened by his own misconduct, and to his credit when death was near he issued instructions that no one was to be smelt out or punished for having caused it. His people obeyed his dying command, though already one man, the counsellor Gabela, had been accused by a witchfinder of bringing on his sickness and had been killed. Umqikela left no generally recognised heir. His great wife, a daughter of the Galeka chief Kreli, had never borne a son. At a general assembly of the tribe in August 1885 it had been decided that the chief should name one of his inferior sons as his heir, who was then to be adopted by the great wife, but he had postponed doing so from time to time until it was too late.

On the 13th of February 1888 a great meeting of the sub-chiefs and leading men of Eastern Pondoland was

held, when Umqikela's son Sigcawu was chosen as his successor. The condition of things required a strong, resolute ruler, and Sigcawu was so weak that very shortly each of the inferior chiefs did pretty much as he liked, and the country fell into a state of anarchy. Thefts of horses, horned cattle, and sheep from the people of Griqualand East became more frequent than before, and no redress whatever could be obtained. This made it almost impossible for the magistrates of the border districts to control the people, who began openly to say that British rule was a bad thing for them, inasmuch as they were punished when they took cattle from the Pondos, while the Pondos took theirs with impunity. They urged that they should be allowed to cross the border in arms to recover their property, and maintained stoutly that doing so would not be commencing war, for it was war already. If the young Pondos came across and stole cattle to show that they were men, why should those who had become British subjects not show that they also were men by retaliating? The Bacas especially were sorely irritated by a taunt of the Pondos that soon all their horses would be gone, when they would be compelled to ride on pigs. It was only the good sense and authority of the chief Makaula that kept them from making an inroad into Pondoland and trying to avenge themselves. A strong police force was kept on the border to restrain them, as well as to try to protect them, which was not practicable along a line of such length.

In Western Pondoland there was much less cattle lifting, but the internal condition of the country was such that sooner or later the British authorities would be compelled for humanity's sake to interfere. Nowhere else had superstition such a hold upon the minds of the people, nowhere else was the number of individuals put to death on charges of dealing in witchcraft so appalling. The sub-chief Gwadiso was in rebellion

against Nquiliso, and offered to cede his people and the ground on which he was living to the Cape Colony. The offer was not accepted, because the government wished to remain on good terms with Nquiliso, and therefore tried to restore concord, but without avail. The chief's sons were growing up, and were acting like the sons of Eli of old, their father having no control over them. Everything was thus tending to ruin.

At this time Umhlangaso was trying to carry out a scheme of pitting another European power against Great Britain in dealing with the Pondos. He encouraged some private individuals of German birth, notably Lieutenant Nagel and a gentleman named Einwald, to form trading establishments in the country, and induced the chief to grant them various concessions which would have resulted in placing not alone the whole of the commerce, but any mining industry that might be developed entirely in their hands. He hoped through their means also to obtain large supplies of arms and ammunition, which would enable him to set the colonial authorities at defiance. His scheme failed, because those who obtained the concessions received no support from their mother country, but it served to show to what lengths Umhlangaso and his partisans were prepared to go.

Disturbances caused by feuds between different clans were frequent, but that was the normal condition of almost all Bantu tribes, especially of such tribes as the Pondo, which contained a great many alien groups of people, whose chiefs were not related to the family of the paramount ruler. In Western Pondoland the alien clans were more numerous than those of pure Pondo blood. They had been compelled by various circumstances to become vassals of Faku, but they had not lost their feeling of semi-independence, nor had they forgotten ancient antipathies. The usual way of a Bantu paramount chief in dealing with such cases was to let the quarrelsome clans fight with each other, but when

they had gone far enough in his opinion, he fined both of them for his benefit. They were bound to account to him for every man killed, that is to solace him for the loss of his subjects, usually at the rate of an ox each if they were common people. This was the course pursued by Sigcawu and Nquiliso, and it seemed reasonable to the Bantu in the country, though the colonial authorities regarded it as dangerous to the general peace, inasmuch as people on their side of the border might easily be drawn into the strife. Weak men too, like Sigcawu and Nquiliso, could not always enforce the payment of the fines on such occasions, which made matters worse.

In 1890 internal strife differing from this in its character broke out in Eastern Pondoland. Umhlangaso, who had held the position of chief counsellor to Umqikela, rose in rebellion against Sigcawu, whose election to the paramount chieftainship had not met with his entire approbation. An intensely vain man, just sufficiently educated from books to give him power for mischief, he tried first to govern the tribe through Sigcawu, and when that failed, he rose in revolt. Such a man can always find adherents where there are so many factions as there were in Pondoland, and his feud with Manundu enlisted on his side all the opponents of that chief. But Sigcawu proved the stronger of the two, and Umhlangaso with all his band was driven from his ground at Inthlenzi. They took refuge in Griqualand East, and their cattle, which were driven into the district of Mount Ayliff, offered such a temptation to the Xesibes to make good their losses that it was next to impossible to preserve anything like order. Sigcawu's forces respected the boundary line, and made no attempt to follow the rebels across it, but the colonial authorities were unwilling to receive the refugees and provide for them. Umhlangaso was therefore informed that he must either return to Pondoland and submit to Sigcawu, or be removed to Capetown.

He declined in the most emphatic terms to comply with the first of these alternatives, and hesitated about the other with a view to gain time, until as soon as he could arrange plans with his adherents, he suddenly recrossed the border and reoccupied Inthlenzi. There he was again attacked by Sigcawu, and was driven away the second time, when he retreated across the Umtamvuna into Natal. It was now determined that he must be removed to Capetown, whether he would consent or not, as he could not be permitted longer to use British territory as a base of operations against his legitimate chief. But before this resolution could be carried into effect, he made a dash into the Isiseli, a district bordering on the sea and lying along the right bank of the Umtamvuna. Here he and his adherents were received and supported by Patekile, chief of the Imizizi clan. The district was one well adapted for defence against forces that could only keep the field as long as the provisions each warrior carried with him lasted, and Sigcawu tried in vain to drive him out of it. On two occasions indeed Sigcawu's army was defeated, but he alleged that he could have beaten the rebels if his forces had not been discouraged by knowing that their opponents had Natal behind them as a refuge in time of need. So the rebellion of Umhlangaso was not suppressed, and the fighting continued through the years 1891, 92, and 93, keeping the whole country in a state of excitement and unrest.

This circumstance forced Sigcawu to do his utmost to keep in favour with the colonial authorities, even had he not otherwise been disposed to do so. In 1892 he made an arrangement to pay five hundred head of full-grown horned cattle in settlement of all claims against his people for theft since December 1886, and he carried out his agreement to that effect with every mark of good faith. In 1893 he fell in cordially with a proposal of the colonial government to construct a strong barbed-

wire fence along the whole border between the district of Mount Ayliff and Pondoland, and gave permission for the sneezewood poles needed for it to be cut in his territory. This fence was of the greatest use thereafter in preventing thefts of cattle and disputes as to the actual position of the boundary. Recognised by the British magistrates on one side and by Sigcawu and his counsellors on the other, no one thought of questioning whether it should not have run differently, and even when it passed through the centre of Pondo gardens in one place and of Xesibe gardens in another, the occupants of the ground made no demur, but simply moved to their own side. It was something that every one could see, and felt bound to respect. Robbers, who would have scrupled at little else, scrupled at cutting the wires, and never dared to break the locks of the gates which were closed at night.

In November 1893 a private of the Cape mounted rifles, named Carty, was murdered on the border by two boys about sixteen years of age. There was in the act no other object than a desire to do something daring, and the boys did not deny the deed, but seemingly did not realise the enormity of their crime. Sigcawu caused them to be arrested, and handed them over to the chief magistrate of Griqualand East to be punished. They admitted that they were guilty of having done something that their chief did not approve of, but otherwise for the mere murder of a man of no consequence their consciences did not trouble them.

At the beginning of 1894 the colonial authorities regarded the condition of things in Pondoland as such that the country and people must be brought at once under the control of civilised men. They would have annexed the territory long before, but for the objections raised by the imperial government, which had now been removed. Accordingly, Major Elliot was sent as a special commissioner to Nquliso, with a message from the governor and high commissioner inviting or requiring him to place

himself and his people under the control of the Cape government. On the 8th of March he reached Ezinkumbeni, and found the chief not unwilling to do as he was desired. He admitted that anarchy was prevalent, that his sons were not so obedient as they might be, that some of his vassals were defiant, and that the wizards who were put to death were very numerous. But it was necessary before such an important matter could be settled that all the chiefs and leading men in Western Pondoland should be called together, and that the question should be discussed in its various bearings.

A meeting was therefore convened, and the conclusion arrived at was in favour of the people becoming British subjects and their country British territory. On the 19th of March 1894 a formal agreement to that effect was drawn up, signed, and witnessed at Ezinkumbeni, when Western Pondoland ceased to be an independent state. It was stipulated that Nquiliso should receive an allowance of £500, Bokuleni £100, and Dumezweni £50 a year. The same laws and regulations were to be enforced as in Tembuland, and the same form of administration was to be observed.

Mr. W. E. M. Stanford, chief magistrate of Griqualand East, conveyed a similar message to Sigcawu, and the result was identically the same. On the 17th of March 1894 the mark of Sigcawu was attached to a deed of cession at Emfundisweni, and Eastern Pondoland became part of the British dominions. Sigcawu was to receive an allowance of £700 a year.

The deeds of cession were ratified by Sir Henry Loch as governor and high commissioner, who on the 20th of March in a proclamation extended her Majesty's sovereignty over the whole of Pondoland.

On the 3rd of April a royal commission was issued, in which the governor of the Cape Colony was appointed governor of Pondoland also. For a few months the territory remained in this condition, though practically

it was ruled by the Cape Colony acting through the secretary for native affairs, just as Transkei, Tembuland, and Griqualand East. An act annexing it to the Cape Colony was passed by parliament in the session of 1894, which was approved by the queen, and on the 25th of September was promulgated in the usual manner by proclamation.

Western Pondoland was divided into two magisterial districts, named Libode and Ngqeleni. On the 21st of March Mr. A. H. Stanford was installed as resident magistrate of the former, and on the 28th of March Mr. J. Glen Leary became resident magistrate of the latter. These two districts were then placed under the control of the chief magistrate of Tembuland, in the same manner as Umtata, Mqanduli, and the others mentioned in chapter vii. The population at the time was estimated at two hundred Europeans—including Cape mounted riflemen,—eighty Hottentots, and eighty thousand Bantu.

Eastern Pondoland could not be so speedily reduced to order. It was necessary to bring Umhlangaso to submission, and for this purpose Captain Dalgety with three hundred Cape mounted riflemen was sent to the Isiseli. Patekile, chief of the Imizizi, thereupon abandoned the insurgents, promised to make his peace with Sigcawu, and was pardoned on condition of paying a fine of two hundred head of cattle. As Natal was closed against them, Umhlangaso and his adherents, under five petty chiefs, then accepted the terms offered, and were brought out and located on a tract of land in the district of Kokstad, which was purchased by the government for their use.

The territory was then divided into three magisterial districts, namely Umsikaba, in which Mr. W. Power Leary was stationed as magistrate, Tabankulu, in which Mr. H. B. Warner was stationed, and Bizana, which was confided to Major Howard Sprigg. The population of these three districts was estimated at six hundred Europeans—

TERRITORY BETWEEN THE KEI RIVER AND NATAL ANNEXED TO THE CAPE COLONY.



including the Cape mounted riflemen,—one hundred and eighty Hottentots and mixed breeds, and one hundred and five thousand Bantu. They were attached to the chief magistracy of Griqualand East. The area of Pondoland eastern and western is about three thousand seven hundred and thirty-six square miles or nine thousand six hundred and eighty square kilometres.

The whole territory from the Kei to the border of Natal was now part of the Cape Colony. The enormous rate of increase of the Bantu under British protection, when they are not permitted to slaughter each other, is shown by the census of 1904. In that year in Transkei, Tembuland, Griqualand East, and Pondoland, including Port St. John's, there were sixteen thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven Europeans and eight hundred and seventeen thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven Bantu and other coloured people.

NOTE.—There are indications that the rate of increase of the Bantu will not be so high in the future, owing to several circumstances. 1. Consumption has become common among the coast tribes, and syphilis is alarmingly prevalent among the Betshuana. 2. As areas become overcrowded, many young men are compelled to leave them and seek service as labourers for Europeans until they earn sufficient to make a fair beginning at their own homes, there being no longer ground available on which swarms can settle. 3. Acquirement of new wants, and as a consequence increase of care. 4. A system of giving credit by traders, under which the larger number of the men are involved in debt and difficulties. 5. The system of education in the great majority of the schools, under which many youths of both sexes are taught solely from books, and are really incapacitated from earning a living by honest industry, thus becoming discontented and often morose. The whole may perhaps be summed up as the change that the Bantu are undergoing in becoming adapted to their new environment.

CHAPTER X.

THE COLONY OF NATAL, 1873 to 1878.

ANTHONY MUSGRAVE, ESQRE., C.M.G., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, RETIRED 30TH OF APRIL 1873.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL T. MILLES, ACTING ADMINISTRATOR, 30TH OF APRIL TO 22ND OF JULY 1873.

SIR BENJAMIN CHILLEY CAMPBELL PINE, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, ASSUMED DUTY 22ND OF JULY 1873, RETIRED 1ST OF APRIL 1875.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR GARNET WOLSELEY, ADMINISTRATOR, ASSUMED DUTY 1ST OF APRIL, AND RETIRED 3RD OF SEPTEMBER 1875.

SIR HENRY ERNEST BULWER, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, ASSUMED DUTY 3RD OF SEPTEMBER 1875.

MR. MUSGRAVE'S term of office as lieutenant-governor of Natal was very short. Having been appointed governor of South Australia, on the 30th of April 1873 he left Maritzburg, when Lieutenant-Colonel Milles, of the 75th regiment, the senior military officer in the colony, became acting administrator. On the 22nd of July in the same year Sir Benjamin Pine, who had been head of the government once before—1850 to 1855—arrived and took the oaths of office as lieutenant-governor. He saw changes in the colony of course, especially in Durban and Maritzburg, and the sugar plantations along the coast and the Indian labourers were new to him, still the progress of the colony in most respects had been far less than might reasonably have been expected of a country so richly endowed by nature. What was wanting to make it advance as other British possessions were advancing was European immigrants in large numbers and European capital, but neither one nor the other was attracted to a land so largely occupied by barbarians, and with a

powerful barbarian military state on its border ever menacing the security of life and property.

In 1873 the legislative council was enlarged by the addition of one official and three representative members. The county of Newcastle, previously a division of Klip River county, was formed into a separate electoral division, with the right of returning one member to the council. To the united counties of Alexandra and Alfred was given the right of electing one, and the county of Victoria had an additional member assigned to it. The whole number of elected members was thus brought up to fifteen. The official element was increased by a seat being assigned to the protector of Indian immigrants, in order that the interests of these people might be carefully guarded.

At this time it was considered advisable that, as in the Cape Colony, the government should possess the telegraphs, which should be controlled and worked by the state like the letter and parcel post. There was then only one line in Natal, from Durban to Maritzburg, and as it was not paying the cost of its maintenance, the company that owned it was glad to sell it at any price. In August 1873, £650 was offered and accepted, and the government took over the line, with a view to adding largely to it. It was soon lengthened in different directions, and on the 19th of April 1878 direct telegraphic communication was opened between Durban and Cape-town, by way of Maritzburg, Kokstad, Umtata, and King-Williamstown.

For fifteen years the Bantu in Natal had remained quiet, giving no trouble by disturbing the peace, but increasing in number at a marvellous rate, when in 1873 an incident which had serious consequences occurred.

The system of dealing with these people in Natal differed from that of the Cape Colony, owing to the Europeans being too few in number to exercise any control over them that was not entirely in accordance

with their wishes. They lived under the immediate government of their chiefs, and preserved their own laws and customs intact, except that public punishment for dealing in witchcraft was prohibited. The few magistrates stationed with them were of greater use in keeping watch over their actions than in exercising jurisdiction, for there was not sufficient power at their command to enable them to act efficiently. The Europeans in Natal in 1873 were only eighteen thousand in number, and it was estimated that there were fully two hundred and eighty thousand Bantu, thus there were more than fifteen times as many black men as white. Under these circumstances, no other policy than the one carried out was possible, unless Great Britain chose to maintain a large military force in the country.

This system did not tend to promote civilisation among the Bantu. In the locations they passed their lives in idleness, leaving the cultivation of the ground to the women just as in days of old, and only exerting themselves for a little when the time for paying the yearly tax came round. They were at liberty to indulge in all the vile habits of heathenism, without hindrance from the government. This freedom from restraint, added to the security which they enjoyed, caused Natal to be regarded as a happy land by the Bantu all over South Africa, and was the cause of the migrations into it. At first the constant influx of refugees was regarded with favour by the European settlers, for it was held to be good policy to build up on the soil a black power strong enough to keep the Zulu nation beyond the border in check. No danger was apprehended from the refugees themselves, as it was supposed they would be faithful to the country which gave them shelter, and that the different clans might, in case of necessity, be pitted against each other. This was considered the chief security of the Natal government, the only means of maintaining its authority.

The locations remained so secluded that even roads were not made through many of them. The reclamation of the people from barbarism, for their own good as well as that of the European colonists, was necessarily left to the efforts of missionaries supported from abroad. A small section of the people was improved by this agency, but the great majority of a new generation grew up as ignorant as their fathers, and without that feeling of dependence for safety upon the white man that had kept the early incomers in restraint. Restrictions to which the first refugees would have submitted readily could not be imposed upon their children. Yet the government asserted that in few parts of the world was life or property safer than in Natal, and a European could traverse the country unarmed from end to end, without danger of being molested.

So matters remained until 1873. The young men who had grown up in barbarism under the shelter of the Natal government were unacquainted with the wars of former days, and a combination of the different clans was within the compass of possibility. An imprudent law, which imposed a fee of £5 on every marriage—thus practically encouraging polygamy, as it increased the difficulty of obtaining even one wife by the very poor, while it left to the rich the power of acquiring as many as they chose—created much disaffection, not on account of the immorality to which it so directly led, but owing to the money payment. By many of the Bantu the white man began to be considered as seeking only their labour in his service and their money for his undertakings. An event then occurred which exposed the peril in which the colonists were living.

It has been mentioned that a section of the Hlubi tribe fled from Zululand in 1848, and had a location assigned to it at the sources of the Bushman's river in Natal. Its chief, Langalibalele (The sun is scorching) by name, then a young man, was without much ability, but was

regarded by the Bantu of Zululand and Natal as the most powerful rainmaker in the whole country. In that capacity he had acquired considerable wealth in cattle, most of which he lost in his flight into Natal, but in his new home he had prospered, and become rich again. Panda sent him a message that if he made a ladder reaching to the sky, it would not save him, but Panda knew his own interest too well to attack any one under British protection, and wisely did not attempt to carry out the threat.

Langalibalele, like many other Bantu chiefs, was addicted to intemperance. His clan acquired the reputation of being restless, but his location was so secluded that very little was positively known by the colonists of him or his people. After the discovery of the diamond fields his young men, in common with others in all parts of South Africa, were attracted to them by the facility with which guns could be obtained there in exchange for labour. One of the laws of Natal, intended as a measure of security, was that no one might possess a gun without its being registered. Accordingly the chief was called upon to account for the guns his young men had brought back with them, but he declined to do so. Message after message was sent, requiring him to appear at Maritzburg, but he made excuses and never went. Meanwhile Mr. Shepstone, the secretary for native affairs, left Natal for a short time on an expedition to Zululand to perform the ceremony of crowning Ketshwayo as king of that country, and Langalibalele and his guns were neglected for a season. But upon the return of the expedition, a messenger was sent again to the Hlubi chief, and was on this occasion treated with indignity.

Langalibalele was already preparing to rebel. He had entered into communication with the Basuto chief Molapo, among whose retainers were many Hlubis who had settled in Basutoland after the defeat and death of

Umpangazita in 1827, and he expected to obtain from that chief a refuge under any circumstances, and most likely active aid. Nothing more was known at the time, but at a later date it was ascertained that he had been plotting in other directions. His family was a very large one, and numerous near relatives were dispersed throughout the country. One brother was at the head of a clan in Griqualand East. From him assistance was expected, and the Hlubi chief most likely thought that he would have active sympathy from the Fingos on the frontier of the Cape Colony. He reckoned further on the coöperation of clans with whom he had been plotting in Natal, so that, with his want of knowledge of the resources of the government, his position must have appeared to himself to have been a strong one.

Peaceable means having failed to secure the obedience of the chief, an armed party was sent to enforce the demand of the government. Upon its approach, Langalibalele left the women, children, old men, and some of his warriors to protect them, and with his cattle he and the young men fled by way of the Bushman's pass over the Drakensberg towards Basutoland. On learning this, the armed party, consisting of mounted volunteers under the command of Major Durnford, of the royal engineers, pushed on as fast as they could up the Giant's Castle pass and then along the crest of the mountains to the top of the Bushman's pass to intercept the fugitives. They arrived there after the chief and his attendants had gone on, but before the cattle and the men with them had quite reached the summit. Men and horses were much fatigued, but still fit for duty. The volunteers had orders not to fire first, and Major Durnford, who wished to communicate with the chief, requested Mabuhle, the principal man with the cattle, to send for him. A pretence was made of doing so, and while the volunteers were waiting the Hlubi

warriors were taking up commanding positions behind rocks on one side of them. At the same time threatening gestures and language, coupled with taunts, were used towards them. This naturally caused much uneasiness, especially among the younger men. Major Durnford ordered them to fall back to a better position, but before they could do so, the Hlubis opened fire on them, and three young volunteers, by name Erskine, Bond, and Potterill,—the first named a son of the colonial secretary,—the interpreter Elijah Kambula, and another black man fell dead.

The volunteers were then seized with panic, and rode away as fast as they could towards the pass by which they had ascended. Major Durnford tried to rally them, but his efforts were frustrated by the exclamations and cowardly conduct of Sergeant Clarke, their drill instructor, who was with the party. It was only when they reached the bottom of the pass that order was restored.

The colonists at once awoke to a sense of their danger. They were living among at least fifteen times their own number of Bantu, and they did not know how far the inclination to rebel extended. Of one thing they were assured: that nothing but the prompt punishment of the Hlubi clan would prevent all who were disaffected from rising in arms. Volunteers at once came forward, Bantu belonging to clans hostile to the Hlubis were enrolled, and a strong pursuing party was organised. All the Europeans in South Africa took a personal interest in the matter. Mr. J. M. Orpen, British resident in Griqualand East, collected a strong force to prevent the advance of the rebels in that direction, and as soon as he ascertained that they were on the way to Basutoland, he crossed the mountains to assist in operations against them. The Cape government forwarded detachments of the frontier armed and mounted police to Basutoland and Griqualand East, and Lieutenant-General Cunynghame sent the eighty-sixth regiment from Cape-

town to Durban. The diggers at the diamond-fields tendered assistance, and the governments of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic were ready to aid in the emergency. Everyone saw that it was not the peace of Natal only, but of all South Africa that was imperilled. Once let other tribes join the Amahlubi, and a general war was inevitable.

The neighbouring clan of the Amangwe, numbering some five thousand souls, under the chief Putili, was suspected of being in league with the rebels. The evidence against it was deemed conclusive by Sir Benjamin Pine, the supreme chief, and under his orders the location was surrounded by a body of obedient Bantu and a few volunteers, when the chief and his counsellors were arrested, the clan was disarmed and broken up, and six thousand head of cattle, with a few horses, sheep, and goats, were seized. There being no absolute proof of their guilt, though the circumstantial evidence was strong against them, the treatment the Amangwe received was not in accordance with English ideas of justice or with the usual conduct of the colonists and the government towards the Bantu. It can only be attributed to the abnormal state of feeling produced by the presence of great and sudden danger, or, which amounts to the same thing, what was believed at the time to be such. The lieutenant-governor himself must have felt that severity like this was only warrantable under extreme circumstances, for as soon as the disturbance was quelled, he permitted the Amangwe to return to their location, but placed them under the charge of a European magistrate, leaving the chief and his family in obscurity.

The pursuing forces from Natal consisted of eighty European volunteers and fifteen hundred obedient Bantu, in two columns, under Captains Allison and Hawkins. One column went towards Griqualand East, the other searched among the mountains above the Bushman's pass, as the direction in which Langalibalele had gone was

still unknown. After several days spent fruitlessly, the two columns effected a junction on the head waters of the Orange, and struck the trail of the rebels leading to Leribe, Molapo's kraal.

During this time the excitement of the Nātal colonists was naturally very strong, and some excesses were committed which are to be deplored. In a time of extreme danger, when men's utmost energies are devoted to self-preservation, acts are frequently committed that are afterwards keenly regretted by the perpetrators themselves. The employment of large numbers of uncivilised Bantu,—men whose passions when once aroused cannot be easily restrained, and who look upon plunder as the object of war,—must always be attended with deeds of violence. It was so in this instance, though happily to a very limited extent.* The warriors of the Hlubi clan that had been left behind by the chief had retired with the women and children to fastnesses in the mountains, so a large force, principally consisting of obedient Bantu, but with some imperial troops and colonial volunteers, accompanied by the secretary for native affairs, was sent to dislodge them. Some of them submitted, but others made a stout resistance, and before all were captured it was believed that from one hundred and fifty to two hundred lost their lives. The women and children, who were then without property of any kind, were sent to the lower parts of the colony, and were indentured as paupers to colonists for a period of three years, but as soon as the excitement was over they were released and permitted to disperse among other clans.

If there was any inclination on the part of the Basuto chiefs to aid Langelibalele, it disappeared when the Cape frontier armed and mounted police arrived, and Mr. C. D. Griffith, the governor's agent, called upon them to assist him. Lerothodi, great son of the paramount chief Letsie, joined the police at once. Molapo, with his sons Jonathan and Joel, sided with the government and

arrayed the clan against the rebels, who were now hemmed in on all sides. On the 11th of December 1873 Langalibalele and his body-guard of eighty-four men arrived at Leribe, and suffered themselves to be disarmed by the police, when the chief, five of his sons, and four of his principal men were made prisoners, and the others were permitted to disperse among the Basuto villages. On the following day two hundred more quietly surrendered to Mr. Griffith, on condition that their lives should be spared, but the main body took up a strong position in the mountains, and prepared to defend themselves. They were then attacked by the police, and after losing ten men were compelled to disperse. Their cattle were seized, and of these two thousand were distributed among the Basuto as a reward for their assistance and the remainder were handed over to Captains Allison and Hawkins, who arrived on the 13th. Mr. Orpen with the forces he had raised in Griqualand East and two hundred of the Cape frontier armed and mounted police from that territory did not reach Molapo's kraal till ten days after the surrender, and therefore, though their exertions had been most commendable, they received no share of the captured stock. The prisoners were delivered to the Natal officers, who took back with them about five thousand head of horned cattle, exclusive of calves, two hundred and seventy horses, and one hundred and forty guns, surrendered by the rebels.

Langalibalele and the other prisoners were not tried according to the rules of an English court of justice. An extraordinary court was created for the purpose, consisting of the lieutenant-governor, in his capacity of supreme chief of the Bantu in Natal, as president, the secretary for native affairs, three European magistrates, three Bantu chiefs, and four Bantu officials under government. The prisoners were tried according to Bantu law, and were not permitted to have counsel. Such a court was ill qualified to secure respect by Europeans for its

decisions, for the Bantu members could not be supposed to act impartially, and it is not surprising that persons abroad called in question the justice of the treatment the Hlubi clan received, basing their knowledge and their opinions on the fact that the principal prisoner was condemned before being tried, for the president of the court was the same governor who had previously outlawed him and offered a hundred head of cattle for his capture. Langelibalele's crime was notorious, and no one who knew how nearly he brought about a general war could maintain that he did not deserve punishment, but it would have been more satisfactory if he had received a fair trial by unbiassed judges. Before the court he admitted the truth of the most serious charges against him, but assumed throughout an appearance of stolid indifference to what was going on.

The trial commenced on the 16th of January 1874, and judgment was delivered on the 9th of the following month. The principal prisoner was sentenced to confinement and banishment for life, but at the time Natal had no place to banish him to. Application was therefore made to the Cape government, and in the session of 1874 the parliament of that colony passed an act authorising the imprisonment on Robben Island of him and his son Malambule, who was sentenced to banishment for five years. To Robben Island they were conveyed accordingly. The Hlubi clan was completely broken up, and the ground it had occupied was resumed by the government.

The details of these occurrences were published in England, and as it happened to be a time when nothing of an exciting nature was taking place in Europe, a large amount of attention was bestowed upon Natal. The ease with which the rebellion had been suppressed caused many to think that the danger had really not been so great as represented. An influential and powerful philanthropic society at once condemned the action of

Lieutenant-Governor Pine and the colonists as unnecessarily severe, and the principal organs of the press took the same view. Bishop Colenso, the champion of the Bantu under all circumstances, after doing whatever was possible in Natal to get the sentence against the chief quashed, went to England to plead with the secretary of state, and published a huge pamphlet on the case, which was largely circulated, and in which all the defects in the trial were exhibited. It was quite useless for the Natal clergy, seventy-four ministers and missionaries of various denominations, to forward a counter statement, or for the South African press, with hardly an exception, to approve generally of the course that had been pursued in stamping out the rebellion in its infancy: public opinion in Great Britain once formed was not to be changed.

It was assumed that Langalibalele could only have been running away through fear, and that he could have had no intention of returning after his cattle were placed in safety. All the circumstances of the case, the previous plotting, the refusal of the Hlubi chief to appear before a magistrate, the overt act of rebellion in firing upon and killing five men at the Bushman's pass, the final stand made in Basutoland by the main body of the insurgents, these and other proofs of guilt were simply ignored, or, if admitted, were attributed to the fear which the clan entertained of the colonists. - It was considered absurd to suppose that Langalibalele meant to rebel, for what could he gain by such a course? That a barbarous chief should take up arms through caprice, or passion, or a mere spirit of restlessness, without ever perhaps weighing the likelihood of success, or enquiring about the strength of his adversary, seemed incomprehensible.

In December 1874 a despatch from the secretary of state for the colonies was forwarded to South Africa, in which he announced that Sir Benjamin Pine would be relieved of office immediately, that Langalibalele and his

son must be removed from Robben Island, and that compensation must be made to the Amangwe for the losses they had sustained. Nearly two hundred Hlubis, including several sons of the chief, had been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, and their punishments were to be mitigated. Otherwise, the despatch was written in a friendly tone, and the colonists were exonerated from the charge of cruelty. It contained the important announcement that the secretary of state contemplated a great reform in the policy to be pursued towards the Bantu, such a reform as would gradually replace barbarism by civilisation. Nothing could be more in accordance with the wishes of the colonists than such a change. But the removal of the governor in the manner indicated—though he had frequently expressed a wish to retire on account of ill health, and this was referred to by Lord Carnarvon—called forth warm sympathy with the man whose energetic action in the hour of peril, it was believed, had saved South Africa from a general war.

With regard to the removal of Langalibalele and his son from Robben Island, there was some difficulty. They could not be taken back to Natal without great danger to the peace, and they could not be released in the Cape Colony, because in such a case they would certainly make their way to the eastern frontier and cause unrest among the Fingos there, the greater number of whom were Hlubis by descent. Lord Carnarvon desired that they should be treated as if they were state prisoners, and be kept under surveillance in the Cape Colony, and in accordance with his wish Mr. Molteno introduced a bill in the session of the Cape parliament of 1875 to remove them to the mainland. This bill met with strong opposition, as many members thought it would establish a vicious precedent to treat such a malefactor as Langalibalele with inconsiderate clemency, and it would not have been carried if Mr. Molteno, who was desirous of

doing everything in his power that was reasonable to serve the mother country, had not declared that he would resign if it was rejected. It was then carried, and a small farm named Uitvlugt near Mowbray in the Cape peninsula having been acquired, on the 26th of August 1875 the two prisoners were removed to it.

There at the cost of the Natal treasury they were provided with ample food, clothing, and everything else that was needed to make them comfortable, they had nothing to do, but could roam about the grounds and eat and sleep to their hearts' content. In February 1876 one of Langalibalele's wives and two of his personal friends were permitted to join him, and subsequently several others were allowed to come from Natal and live with him, so that he did not pine for company. Even some cows were given to him, in which he seemed to take more interest than in anything else. Only one article that he wished to have was not supplied to him, and that was strong drink of some kind or other.

Malambule was of course liberated at the expiration of the term of his sentence, but his father remained at Uitvlugt for nearly twelve years, it can hardly be said as a prisoner except that he was not allowed to wander beyond the boundaries of the farm. It was at length considered that he could not do any harm in Natal, as he was becoming feeble in body and imbecile in mind, and he was allowed to return. On the 22nd of April 1887 he and his family, then numbering five adults and four children, were placed on board the coasting steamer *Melrose*, and left Table Bay. A residence was assigned to him in the Zwartkops location, where he was placed under the care of the chief Teteleku, who had instructions to prevent the scattered Hlubis from collecting about him and not to allow him to exercise power as a chief.

Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley, the most celebrated British soldier of his day, was selected by Lord Carnarvon to act temporarily as administrator of Natal

and to effect the changes there that had been determined upon. Accompanied by a brilliant staff, consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel George Pomeroy Colley, Major Brackenbury, Major W. F. Butler, Captain Lord Gifford, and Mr. Frederick Napier Broome, who had been appointed colonial secretary in succession to Major Erskine, he reached Durban on the 29th of March 1875, and on the 1st of April took the oaths of office at Maritzburg. Sir Benjamin Pine left at once for Capetown, where he embarked for England on the 10th of April, having as a fellow-passenger in the mail steamer *President Burgers* of the Transvaal. Major Erskine had gone home in April 1874. Colonel Colley now became acting treasurer of Natal, and Lord Gifford acting protector of Indian immigrants, so that the official members of the legislative council were mostly new men.

In the session of the council in 1874 there had been some talk of annexation to the Cape Colony, as the simplest means of relief from the tremendous responsibility of preserving peace in a population of fifteen barbarians to one civilised man, but many of the members believed that if they could manage affairs in their own way without control from oversea, they could get along well enough, and a vote in favour of responsible government was carried by a majority of the elected members. It might be thought that in a country so sparsely inhabited by Europeans as Natal, and where a constant pressure was maintained by the official element, there would be no room for the formation of antagonistic parties. Unfortunately it was otherwise. Between the coastlands and the up-country districts a spirit of jealousy existed, which on more than one occasion destroyed harmony in the council chamber. On this occasion the two sections of the colony were arrayed against each other. The upland members carried the measure unanimously, but only after the coast members had left the chamber and the president had ruled that the official members

could not vote on the question, as they would be personally affected by it. The resolution thus carried, however, had no result, for after a time came the decision of the secretary of state, which was to the effect that responsible government could not be conceded. The authorities in England were unwilling to subject the Bantu population to the government of a party consisting of a majority in a constituency of eighteen thousand colonists.

And now in 1875 a change in the opposite direction was desired by the secretary of state. His principal object in sending out as administrator an officer of Sir Garnet Wolseley's standing was to obtain the consent of the colonists to the virtual annulment of the charter, as changes in the policy to be pursued towards the Bantu were resolved upon at the colonial office, and it was considered advisable to make sure of no opposition on the part of the local legislature. There was really no reason to apprehend resistance to any measure calculated to improve the condition of the Bantu, for the colonists and their representatives had always been desirous of the advancement of these people in civilisation. There might be obstruction in other matters, but not in this. The power of the crown too in the legislature of Natal was already sufficient to secure the approval of any reasonable measure that might be proposed, even if the colonists had not been so thoroughly at one as they were in desiring to raise their swarthy neighbours out of the slough of barbarism. Not only could the secretary of state or the governor disallow any bill, but of the twenty members of the council, five were officials who received their appointments from the colonial office, and whose only choice was to vote as directed or to resign their situations. Whenever the votes of six out of the fifteen elected members could be secured, there was a majority for the government, and it may safely be said that any policy for which that proportion of votes could not be obtained must have been unjust or dangerous. Lord

Carnarvon, however, thought differently, and so another change in the council was made.

Theoretically the sovereign has the power of altering, amending, or annulling such charters as those of Natal, but in practice the power of annulling them is never exercised. The usual course is to obtain by some means the consent of the legislature to its own extinction, and for such a purpose no abler man than Sir Garnet Wolseley could have been selected. In him great ability was united with winning manners and a rare power of leading men. He had the reputation of being a skilful diplomatist as well as a skilful general. The colonists felt that their country was considered of some importance when such a man was sent to be its head, they saw Natal noticed at length in the leading English periodicals, and they were persuaded that a strong garrison, so much needed, as in January 1874 the eighty-sixth regiment had gone back to Capetown, would be provided to protect them. The administrator made a tour through the colony,—it was as much like a triumphal march as the scattered Europeans could cause it to be,—pleasant words were spoken everywhere, addresses of welcome were presented, and flattering replies were made.

After this preparation the legislative council was summoned to meet on the 5th of May, and the bill which was to deprive it of power was introduced. It proposed to add ten nominated members, so as to secure fifteen always for the government against the same number of representatives of the people, but as the president was to be an elected member, the government would have a clear majority at all times. There was a party in Natal that would have preferred to do away with a council altogether, and thus throw the whole responsibility of government upon the secretary of state, rather than accept the bill in the form in which it was introduced. It was seen at once that the elected members would never agree to it as it then stood, but

many of them admitted that a strong government was not only desirable, but absolutely necessary to the prosperity of the country.

The chief reason assigned by the executive in favour of the measure proposed was that it would enable them without any obstruction to reform the policy regarding the Bantu. The strangest feature in the debate was this plea, for the alteration in the mode of dealing with the Bantu now desired by the imperial authorities was precisely such as the elected members of the colonial legislature had been for years fruitlessly endeavouring to effect.

After a warm discussion, the bill was read a second time, and then a compromise was effected. In committee such alterations were made as to give the government power to accomplish what it professed to be so anxious to do, and yet so as not to deprive the colonists of the benefit of representation. The ten nominee members proposed were reduced to eight, who were not to be office holders, and who were to be possessed of fixed property in the country to the value of £1,000, and also to have resided in Natal for at least two years. The colonists were to some extent protected by a clause providing that no new tax should be laid on them without the consent of two-thirds of the members present at the time of its being put to the vote. Finally, the duration of the bill was limited to five years. Thus modified, it was read for the third time on the 31st of May, and carried by the five official and five representative votes, against the votes of seven elected members. The coast members voted for it, and all the up-country members except one against it. The secretary of state gave his consent, and it became the law of Natal. Thus the colony presented the rare spectacle among the dependencies of Great Britain of having its political privileges much reduced.

Having secured the preponderance of the executive in the council, Sir Garnet Wolseley's principal task was

accomplished, but he remained in the colony until the 3rd of September, preparing the bills which his successor would introduce in the next session, appointing the new members, and making himself acquainted with the condition of the country generally, that he might be able to give information to the secretary of state. The council was prorogued until the 30th of September, when it was opened by Lieutenant-Governor Sir Henry Bulwer, and it continued in session until the 18th of December.

Sir Garnet Wolseley assessed the compensation to the Amangwe at £12,000, which he proposed should be paid to them in useful articles, at the rate of £3,000 a year for four years. To this Lord Carnarvon gave his consent, and the council voted the money. It was used principally in the purchase of blankets, agricultural implements, and cattle. Individual cases of distress among the Hlubis were also relieved by means of money voted by the council.

To bring the administration of justice among the Bantu in Natal into line with that in civilised countries, and thus provide against such irregular proceedings as those adopted in Langelibalele's case, by Act 26 of 1875 a tribunal termed the Native High Court was created. It was to be presided over by a properly qualified judge, and was empowered to adjudicate in all civil cases, whatever the amount in dispute, though if that was over £50 there was a right of appeal to the supreme court, and to try certain classes of criminal cases, but it could not pronounce the death sentence, which was reserved for the supreme court. It was also made a court of appeal from the decisions of the magistrates in charge of different parts of the country. As the Bantu were not sufficiently advanced towards civilisation to be made subject to English or Roman-Dutch law, this court was required to adjudicate in accordance with Bantu law, and to prevent any ir-

regularities that might arise from different interpretations of the customs and traditions of the various clans, which were not always similar, it was provided that this law should be codified.

A commission, consisting of men thoroughly competent to ascertain what the customs which took the place of laws among the clans were, to compare them carefully, so as to select those which agreed and to form the best compromise between those that varied, was thereupon appointed, but as the enquiries took much time, the code was not drawn up until the 28th of February 1878. It was a short, but convenient one, and it dealt amply with the marriage laws, which form the base of litigation in the great majority of cases between Bantu. In one particular, but in one only, the ordinary Bantu custom was rejected in this code. According to the practice of these people, the father or guardian of a girl has the right of giving her in marriage to any one he chooses, whether she is willing or not. She generally manages indeed to have her own way, but it sometimes happens that a wealthy old man casts his eye on a young girl, and obtains her guardian's assistance in compelling her by forcible means to become a member of his household. Bantu law permits this, as the father or guardian is regarded as the only one whose consent is needed, but in the code it was required that the woman must in every case declare her willingness to the union publicly before the marriage ceremony could take place. Civilised men could not do less than this to protect helpless females. This code remained the law of Natal until 1891, when an enlarged one took its place.

In this session the fee of £5 on every marriage of Bantu was abolished, and that the revenue might not suffer by the loss of this item, the hut-tax was increased to fourteen shillings a year.

These measures were unquestionably great improvements upon the old system of dealing with the Bantu in Natal,

and together with the punishment inflicted upon the Hlubi clan for rebelling, had an excellent effect in maintaining tranquillity in the colony.

It was evident to the colonists that the prosperity of Natal depended more upon its carrying trade than upon agricultural or pastoral pursuits, however rich the soil might be. The dream of Pieter Retief and his companions, of living upon farms like those in the Cape Colony, could never be more than a dream now, except in the northern tongue of land where a few Dutch-speaking families still dwelt in the style of their ancestors. The influx of Bantu had put an end for ever to any prospect of farming in this way, though it might be possible still to cultivate small plots of ground in some places and to graze horned cattle and sheep in others. The colony could not be said to offer much inducement to people to settle on the land, but the position of Durban invited traffic with the interior, and pointed out a way of obtaining prosperity. To improve the harbour and to construct a line of railway inland thus became the desire of the colonists, because as sensible men they saw that it was feasible, while agricultural or cattle breeding on a large scale was not.

For some time a project of railway construction, designed by a gentleman named Welborne, had been before the public, and in 1873 was agreed to by the government. Mr. Welborne proposed to form a company in England to construct a railroad from Durban through Maritzburg to Newcastle, with a branch from Ladysmith to Van Reenen's pass in the Drakensberg to tap the trade of the Orange Free State, another branch from a point not far from Durban some distance along the south coast, and still another from Durban northward to Verulam, in all three hundred and forty-five English miles or five hundred and fifty-two kilometres. For this he was to receive two and a half million acres of crown land at a mere nominal perpetual rental and a subsidy

of £40,000 a year for twenty years, dating from the completion of the line, and in proportion as different sections were opened for traffic, besides a monopoly of certain mining privileges at Newcastle, where there were extensive coal-fields. It was a large scheme for a colony of only eighteen thousand European inhabitants, but it was anticipated, and with reason, that if it was carried out that number would soon be greatly increased.

An attempt was made in London to form a company on this basis, but was unsuccessful, because the capitalists there would not take part in it unless the imperial government would guarantee a yearly return of five per cent upon the outlay, and this the secretary of state declined to do. Finally, on the 9th of December 1874, Lord Carnarvon refused to sanction the contract with Mr. Welborne, as in his opinion the colony could not afford to part with its waste lands in this manner, even though the company should be bound to introduce a few thousand European immigrants. He preferred that the government should construct some of the most important lines with capital borrowed in England, which there would be no difficulty in raising. So Mr. J. W. Welborne's project came to an end.

In the session of the legislative council in 1875 the subject of the construction of railways by the government was fully discussed, and it was resolved to undertake the work and to contract loans for the purpose on security of the colonial revenue. The public debt was then already £331,600, or a little over £18 for each individual. This was increased by the close of 1877 to £1,231,100, and as the Europeans were then estimated to number 22,000, the debt in a little more than two years rose to £56 per individual, but on the other side there was a productive asset. There were at the beginning of 1878 in the colony twelve thousand eight hundred and twenty-five Indians, two hundred and ninety thousand and thirty-five Bantu, and two thousand five hundred

mixed breeds of all kinds. These contributed to the revenue to some extent, but as the cost of maintaining order among them was little less than what was received from them, they cannot be taken into consideration in a matter such as the public debt.

By the Act No. 6 of 1875 the government was authorised to purchase the existing line of railway from the Point to Durban from the company that owned it, and on the 1st of January 1877 this was done. £40,000 was the sum paid for it.

As a commencement of a main line, the government was empowered by Act 4 of 1875 to construct a railway with a gauge of forty-two inches from Durban to Maritzburg, with a branch from a point four miles and a half or seven kilometres and a fifth from Durban southward to Isipingo, and one from the existing terminus at the Umgeni northward to Verulam. The secretary of state gave his approval to this, and on the 1st of January 1876 the first sod was turned at Durban by Lieutenant-Governor Sir Henry Bulwer. The line was not constructed as in the Cape Colony by a special department of the government, employing its own labourers, but a tender of Messrs. Wythes & Jackson, of London, was accepted, to provide the material of a specified quality and to do the work. As skilled labourers had to be brought from England, and much preliminary arrangement be carried out, the construction seemed to proceed very slowly at first, and it was not until the 9th of February 1878 that the first section, from Durban to Pinetown, was opened for traffic. Thereafter it advanced more rapidly.

Of equal importance with the construction of railways was the improvement of the harbour, so that goods could be landed or shipped without difficulty. At that time ocean-going vessels lay at anchor in the open sea, and goods and passengers were conveyed to and from them in lighters towed by steam tugs. Sometimes the

bar was impassable for days, so that detention had to be considered as well as the danger and cost of transit in this manner. And there within sight was a capacious landlocked sheet of water, with only a shifting bar of sand between the Point and the Bluff, cutting it off from the outer anchorage. How to remove that bar and keep a deep channel open permanently was the question which, if solved successfully, would convert that sheet of water into an excellent harbour.

Two plans to do this had been tried. The first had not advanced far enough to test its utility when it was stopped, and Captain Vetch's plan was substituted for it. Upon this a large amount of money had been spent, but uselessly, for the bar remained as it was before. Then Sir John Coode visited the port, and after inspecting it carefully, in February 1878 reported that the bar could be removed and a safe harbour be made, accessible to large ships, by reverting to the first plan. The main features of this were the construction of two piers to reduce the width of the entrance and cause a stronger current outwards with the falling tide, and the deepening of the water on the bar by dredging and blasting.

The government determined to carry out Sir John Coode's plan. It was expensive, but the result was all that could be desired, for in course of time a first-class harbour was formed, open to all the steamships that frequent the eastern seas.

The construction of these works was the means of increasing the number of Europeans in the colony by several thousands. The system of immigration carried on by the government was to give to approved persons in Great Britain free passages, board and lodging for seven days after arrival, and thereafter employment on public works for those who could not in that time obtain more remunerative service.

CHAPTER XI.

EVENTS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC FROM 1873 TO ITS OVERTHROW IN 1877.

ONE of the first difficulties which President Burgers had to meet was the existence of the paper money in the Transvaal, which paralysed the trade of the country by reducing business transactions to the primitive system of barter. Taxes, when they were paid by the burghers, were almost invariably discharged in paper, so that very little coin found its way into the treasury, and public servants were naturally in a state of constant unrest, either not receiving their salaries at all or receiving them in currency not worth its face value. To remedy this, Mr. Burgers made a provisional arrangement for a loan with the Cape Commercial bank, and then called the volksraad together in special session. It met on the 24th of February 1873, and the president had no difficulty in inducing it to ratify the transaction. The bank advanced the sum of £60,000 in gold with which to redeem the paper currency, for which it received debentures to the amount of £63,000, on which interest was payable at the rate of six per cent per annum. A sinking fund was provided for, by which £3,000 was to be set aside every year to pay off the principal, and as security a mortgage was given upon a large extent of public ground. This transaction seems a very small one to-day, but in 1873 it was regarded by many persons in South Africa as one of the greatest importance for the welfare of the Transvaal republic.

At this time alluvial goldfields in the district of Lydenburg, discovered in the preceding year, were

attracting diggers not only from the Cape Colony and Natal, but from Australia and Scotland. Shortly some four or five hundred men were engaged searching for gold, a few of whom were successful, while some barely covered expenses, and others did not even do that. The metal was found in patches, and often ground adjoining rich spots yielded nothing. Food was scarce and exceedingly dear. The country was parched by a long drought, and wherever any grass remained, locusts appeared in swarms and devoured it. Redwater in Natal was so destructive to horned cattle that transport riding almost ceased. An attempt was made to open a road to Delagoa Bay, the nearest seaport, but in addition to other obstacles, the tsetse fly prevented the use of oxen or horses on that route. The diggers were in many instances reduced to live almost solely upon beef and maize, which fortunately could be procured from the Bantu in the neighbourhood.

The president paid a visit to the goldfields, and was well received by the residents there. He made arrangements for the maintenance of order by the appointment of an official termed the gold commissioner, who had extensive power conferred upon him. The diggers consented to pay monthly five shillings each for a licence, and they were to have two representatives in the volksraad. These arrangements were ratified by the raad in its next ordinary session, which was opened on the 19th of May. The president found so many Scotchmen among the diggers that he jocularly named the place where they were then working Macmac, and the country around it New Caledonia. Soon after his visit a richer locality, about eight English miles or thirteen kilometres from Macmac, was discovered, which received the name Pilgrims' Rest, and attracted the majority of the gold seekers. The president purchased a nugget which weighed a little over one hundred and nineteen ounces Troy, for which he paid £475, and had it coined in England in

pieces of the value of sovereigns. On one side of these was the coat of arms of the republic and on the reverse his own likeness. One was presented in the name of the republic to the head of every state that had acknowledged its independence, and one was given to every member of the existing volksraad.

To this display of the president's vanity may be added another instance. He devised a new flag and coat of arms for the republic, and his persuasive power was so great that he induced the volksraad to accept them, but in the next session, when he was in Europe, they were discarded and the old ones were restored.

In 1874 the first symptoms of distrust of Mr. Burgers were shown by the conservative and orthodox members of the volksraad. One of his warmest supporters and constant advisers was Mr. James Buchanan, the attorney-general, who had a seat in the executive council. He was a nephew of Mr. David Dale Buchanan, but did not share that gentleman's extreme views with regard to the rapacity of the Europeans in South Africa. The volksraad now resolved that the executive council should consist of the president, the state secretary, and three unofficial members appointed by itself. Thus Mr. Buchanan was excluded, and in his stead Mr. Paul Kruger, who in the preceding year had resigned the post of commandant-general, was chosen.

The effect of the Keate award upon the Betshuana and Korana clans pronounced by it to be independent of the republic was to set them all at variance. Everything was in confusion and disorder among them, and white men were intriguing to gain some object or other,—usually large grants of land,—by fostering strife between the chiefs. Among them was Mr. David Arnot, the most advanced imperialist in South Africa, whose influence with some of the chiefs was all-powerful, and who was striving to bring about such a state of things that Great Britain would be compelled to take over the territory.

Sir Henry Barkly had arranged with Mr. Burgers verbally to let the dispute stand over until matters should cool down, but he was now forced into a controversy again. There was living at Christiana a man named Matthew Smith, who kept a canteen and whose character was not of the best. This man put up a reed hut in a position that the landdrost objected to, and upon being requested to remove it refused to do so and set the landdrost at defiance. He was then arrested, though he made a stout resistance, and was committed to prison, when the hut, which was valued at £3, was burnt down. He broke out of the frail building that served as a prison without difficulty, and made his way to the diamond fields, where he complained to the authorities of having suffered wrongs in person and in property from Transvaal officials in territory beyond the border of the republic according to the Keate award. Nothing could have pleased those who desired the downfall of the republic more, and the circumstance was magnified by them until it was made to appear as a wanton outrage by a boer official upon an innocent and unoffending Englishman on ground belonging to a Betshuana tribe.

As Smith was a British subject, Sir Henry Barkly was compelled to act. In March 1874 he wrote to President Burgers demanding compensation to the injured man and the surrender of Mr. Best, the landdrost, to be tried for having imprisoned him. The president replied, refusing to comply, on the ground that the Keate award was illegal, and that even supposing the territory in which Christiana was situated to have belonged to the Koranas, the Batlapin, or the Barolong, it had become by cession part of the republic. He stated that on the 6th of December 1872 Massau Riet Taaibosch, paramount chief of the Koranas, on the 1st of July 1873 Moshete, paramount chief of the Barolong, and on the 11th of December 1873 Botlasitsi, paramount chief of the Batlapin, had ceded their territorial rights to him, and on the

11th of March 1874 he issued a proclamation that the rights so ceded were territorial rights of the South African Republic.

If the president's argument had been sound there would have been no further correspondence on the subject, for it could not be disputed that the Koranas, the Barolong, and the Batlapin, with their dependents, were the only coloured occupants of the territory between the line of the Keate award and the Kalahari desert, from the Griqualand West border on the south to the Molopo river on the north. But the paramountcy of the chiefs named, though claimed by themselves from their being the highest in rank in the direct line of the ruling families, was not admitted by the other chiefs of clans into which the tribes had broken up, several of whom were more powerful than they, and under no circumstances could a paramount chief alienate territorial rights without the consent of his subordinates. Any one of them would be ready at any time to put his hand to a paper of any import, if he believed that by doing so he would gain assistance against a rival.

Sir Henry Barkly therefore refused to admit that the cessions from the chiefs named were of any value, and announced that he would adhere to the line of the Keate award. He demanded £300 as compensation for the damage sustained by Smith.

At this stage the president was struck down by a severe illness, and for several months was confined to his bed and unable to transact business of any kind.

While he was ill a despatch was prepared by Mr. Buchanan, the attorney-general, in reply to Sir Henry Barkly's letters of the 12th and 14th of March, which the president was unable to sign until the 31st of August, when it was forwarded to Capetown. It was of great length, forming when printed an octavo pamphlet of one hundred and sixteen pages. The tone was anything but conciliatory, and the argument rested largely in asserting

that the treatment of the Bantu and Koranas by the existing government of the republic was kinder and juster than the treatment of such people by the British authorities. The Keate award was again repudiated, and compensation to Smith was refused.

On the 22nd of September and 28th of December 1874 Sir Henry Barkly wrote at great length to the president again. He favoured Mankoroane as the paramount chief of the Batlapin, as being much more powerful than Botlasitsi, but he proposed that a joint commission should erect beacons along the line of the Keate award and obtain information concerning the Bantu tribes west of it. The matter was now allowed to drop out of sight, however, because Lord Carnarvon, secretary of state for the colonies, was desirous of forming a confederation of the South African colonies and republics under the British flag, and therefore wished to avoid anything that might increase the irritation prevalent in the Transvaal.

In November 1874 the president brought before the volksraad a scheme for the construction of a railroad one hundred and twenty English miles or one hundred and ninety-two kilometres in length, with a gauge of thirty inches or seventy-six centimetres, from Klipstapel in the republic to Delagoa Bay. He pointed out that upon all goods entering the Transvaal from oversea customs duties were paid to Natal or the Cape Colony, without the inland state receiving any share of that money, and he expressed confidence that arrangements could be made with Portugal by which a considerable revenue would be derived from that source. Delagoa Bay, he said, was the natural port of the Transvaal, but it could not be made use of owing to the intervening land being infested by the tsetse fly, which prevented transport by cattle. If a railway was constructed goods could be brought in more easily than by the longer routes from Natal or Port Elizabeth, and could be sold at cheaper rates, to the advantage of every one in the republic. The wool and skins that were exported

would also realise higher prices, because the cost of carriage to the sea would be less. For a short time it would be necessary to pay a small tax, but for a short time only, because the railroad as soon as constructed would certainly pay for itself. He thought the Portuguese government would favour the project, and most likely would contribute half the cost of the line from the port to the Transvaal border.

The eloquence of the president prevailed, and a majority of the members approved of the design. No survey of the route had been made, consequently the president's estimate of the cost of the road was mere conjecture, but he was authorised to proceed to Europe to make arrangements with Portugal and to contract a loan of the £300,000 required. As security he was empowered to offer five hundred farms of three thousand morgen each and the proceeds of a special tax of £1 yearly on every burgher in the state. Mr. Pieter Jacobus Joubert, chairman of the volksraad, was chosen to act as president during the absence of Mr. Burgers on this mission.

In March 1875 the president left Pretoria for this purpose. In Capetown he engaged Mr. J. T. Hall, the engineer who had constructed the Cape Copper Mining Company's line in Little Namaqualand, to survey the route inland from Delagoa Bay. On the 10th of April he embarked for Europe, taking with him specimens of gold, galena, cobalt, iron, coal, plumbago, tin, and copper, to be exhibited as proofs of the great mineral wealth of the country under his government.

In Holland he was very well received. He spoke enthusiastically of the brilliant future of the republic, of its capability of supporting a vast number of inhabitants, and of offering a home to the surplus population of the Netherlands, who would find there men and women of their own blood anxious to welcome them, so that there might arise a great Dutch-speaking daughter Holland in that fair country over the sea. He engaged as super-

intendent-general of education the reverend E. J. P. Jorissen, D.D., who on arriving in the Transvaal found nothing to superintend, and so became attorney-general in the place of Mr. James Buchanan, who resigned that office in November 1875. He engaged also several school-masters, who under other conditions would have been of much use.

With the Portuguese government an arrangement was made, though not quite as favourable as Mr. Burgers had anticipated. The raising of the loan was entrusted by the president to Messrs. Insinger & Co., of Amsterdam, who were well qualified to transact such business. The terms offered by them were so tempting that any people less cautious than the Dutch would have applied for many times the whole amount as soon as it was announced, for the security seemed more than ample. But the money lenders of Amsterdam wanted to know more about the five hundred farms than their size, and they enquired particularly as to the certainty of the special railway tax being paid. The information supplied did not satisfy them, and though they wished all possible success to the republic, in a matter of business like this they were not prepared to furnish the gold required. Applications were then called for debentures of one thousand gulden or £83 6s. 8d. each, to which coupons of £2 1s. 8d. were attached, payable in Amsterdam every half year, on the 1st of January and the 1st of July. The price of a debenture was eight hundred and eighty gulden or £73 6s. 8d. The loan was to be repaid within twenty-five years, the particular debentures to be redeemed every year to be decided by lottery. On these terms the sum of £90,000 was obtained, with which a quantity of railway material was purchased in Belgium and sent to Delagoa Bay, and the president then returned to Pretoria, believing that if the railway was actually commenced, the money would be forthcoming in Holland to complete it. He reached the republic again after an absence of a little over twelve months.

On landing in South Africa he was rudely awakened from his dream of a great progressive republic with millions of inhabitants of Netherlands blood, with railways and colleges and thriving industries to be raised on the foundation of a little state the majority of whose residents were entirely unprepared for these changes. The first information he received was that the Bapedi in the district of Lydenburg were in a state of active rebellion, and that a large number of farmers were getting ready to abandon the country.

When he reached Pretoria this intelligence was confirmed, and to add to the trouble he found an empty treasury and a large party opposing his measures. It would have been plain to any one else that the construction of a railway was then impossible, but in his enthusiasm he still persevered in his plan, and even resolved to alter the gauge from thirty to forty-two inches. And this at a time when the money obtained in Holland had all been expended in the purchase of material and the payment of freight, when there was nothing on hand to meet the first half year's interest, and when even the salary of the engineer, Mr. Hall, was in arrear and could not be paid.

The conduct of the Bapedi tribe in the district of Lydenburg demanded immediate attention, for it was a matter that could not be postponed.

The history of the Bapedi tribe is almost an exact counterpart of that of the Basuto. The territory it occupied had been invaded by sections of the Bakwena family, who had exterminated the aboriginal Bushmen and settled there in very recent times in several communities politically independent of each other. The most important of these communities at the beginning of the nineteenth century was governed by a chief named Tulare, who stood in the same position towards the other rulers that Motlomi occupied towards those along the upper Caledon, that is, he was commonly regarded as wiser and abler than the others, but had no actual authority over them. During

the wars of Tshaka the land had more than once been overrun by hordes that his armies put in motion, when some of the tribes were entirely destroyed, and the others, greatly reduced in number, were broken up and obliged to flee, some to distant localities, others to almost impregnable retreats in the mountains, where they continued to exist in a precarious manner by hunting, gathering wild plants, and in some instances by cannibalism.

Moselekatse caused great havoc among these people, but the most destructive of the invading hordes was that under Manikusa, now called the Matshangana, that occupied the territory for a considerable time, just as the Amangwane under Matiwane occupied Basutoland. There was not much that could be destroyed when they left, but after them came the Amaswazi, who gathered that little. The land was desolate when a petty chief named Sekwati, who was a son of Tulare by an inferior wife, returned from the distant locality beyond the Limpopo to which he had fled, and played exactly the same part that Moshesh performed in the south, though he had not a tithe of the ability of the great Mosuto. But his descent from the founder of the most important of the former tribes, whose name was Moperi (or Mopeli or Mopedi as pronounced by different sections of the Bakwena), gave him an advantage that Moshesh did not possess. He gathered some people together on a mountain stronghold, from which raiding parties could be sent to a distance to seek for spoil, and where they could rest in safety on their return. Here he was joined by refugees of many clans, who all adopted the name Bapedi, after the founder of Sekwati's family.

Louis Triegard, the leader of the first party of emigrant farmers from the Cape Colony to the country north of the Vaal, made the acquaintance of Sekwati when he was trying to open a road from the Zoutpansberg to Delagoa Bay, and found him a chief of very little importance. But with the occupation of Lydenburg and Zoutpansberg by

the parties that acknowledged the leadership of Commandant Hendrik Potgieter, an opportunity was furnished to the little community to grow. The events connected with the intercourse of the Bapedi with these farmers have been related in other chapters, and it need only be said here that they accepted from the republic of Lydenburg a location ten times as large as they needed at the time, where they could live in peace under the protection of the white men. It lay in the angle between the Steelpoort and Olifants rivers, and included the Lulu mountains. The chief acknowledged himself a vassal of the republic, but, in accordance with the general policy of the farmers, was not interfered with in the government of his people in their own way.

In September 1861 Sekwati died, and was succeeded as head of the Bapedi by his son Sekukuni. The tribe grew rapidly in strength, not only by the amazing natural increase of the Bantu in time of peace, but by a constant influx of people from other parts of the country, some of whom were descendants of the remnants of tribes that had lived there before the wars of extermination and that had made their escape, and others were of alien, though Bantu, blood. All were made welcome that would acknowledge the Bapedi chief as their ruler, just as all who went to Basutoland were welcomed by Moshesh. The tribe was thus a composite one, though the great majority of its members were of Bakwena stock. In 1876 it was well provided with guns and ammunition, obtained by its young men at the diamond fields. Missionaries of the Berlin society had been labouring with the tribe, and had made many converts, but recently the chief had quarrelled with the reverend Mr. Nachtigal, and had expelled him and some others from the location. The reverend A. Merensky, the superintendent of the Berlin mission, who was stationed at Botsabela, on one of the sources of the Olifants river, near Middelburg, however, still exercised great influence in the tribe.

The troubles and strife among the farmers had greatly diminished the respect with which the Bantu at an earlier date had regarded them, and the success of the Bavenda in Zoutpansberg and still more the attitude of the largest Barolong clan in the west, that had been declared independent by the Keate award, had encouraged Sekukuni in the hope that he too might become independent, and that all the land once occupied by the Bakwena tribes some of whose remnants were then Bapedi might be his. From a Bantu point of view such a sentiment was patriotic and highly commendable, but it meant the extinction of the republic and the renewal of internecine war among the tribes, for if Sekukuni succeeded in his design, there was not a square kilometre of land north of the Vaal that had not once been occupied by black people, and dozens of chiefs could count among their retainers men whose fathers or grandfathers had once lived on ground now owned by farmers. If successful, and the example was followed by others, as it certainly in that case would be, a state of things would be created similar to that in Betshuanaland, where one clan was always ready to fall upon another.

In the usual Bantu manner, hostilities were commenced by robberies of cattle on an extensive scale from farmers in the neighbourhood by the people of Johannes, one of Sekukuni's sub-chiefs. This was a kind of feeler by which to test the strength of the republican government, when if it should prove greater than was anticipated, the chief could throw the blame upon his subordinate, pretend to punish him, and make compensation for the robberies. It was followed by nothing more serious than complaints until March 1876, when the farmers of Lydenburg went into lager, and applied to the government for protection. None was forthcoming, so in April Mr. Cooper, the landdrost of the district, went to Pretoria himself to represent matters and plead for assistance to punish the robber

captain Johannes. He met with sympathy, but did not get what he wanted, an armed force.

The gold diggers then took measures for their own defence, elected a leading man among them named Fraser to be their commandant, and spoke and acted as if they were independent of the republican government. They and some other British subjects in the country wrote to Sir Henry Barkly in Capetown and to Sir Henry Bulwer in Natal, representing the dangerous position they were in and asking for protection.

On the 1st of May 1876 the volksraad met. There was a strong party in it opposed to the president, believing that he was inclined to run the country into debt and take risks that were unnecessary, and nearly the whole of the members were apprehensive that his views regarding religion would prove a danger to the state. There was still nearly a year to run before his term of office would expire, but already many of the farmers were looking around for another to take his place, and some had even fixed upon Mr. F. W. Reitz, chief justice of the Orange Free State; as the man of their choice. He, however, declined the proposals that were made to him to announce himself a candidate for the presidency, as he objected to the creation of another faction in addition to those already existing in the country.

At this time there was some apprehension also of war with the Zulus, as Ketshwayo was demanding restoration of the land on the eastern border of the old district of Utrecht that he had ceded in 1861, but the farmers did not fear this as much as the trouble with Sekukuni. There was thus ample material for discord when the volksraad met.

The president's eloquence, however, once more prevailed. The members were induced to approve of what he had done in Europe, and to increase the railway tax from £1 to £1 10s. upon every farm and every burgher

not in possession of a farm, to meet the interest on the loan and to furnish funds for commencing the work. On the 16th of May the raad approved of a commando being called out to reduce Sekukuni to order, and this resolution was acted upon almost immediately by the president. He certainly did not want war, but he realised that there was no possibility of avoiding it if the white man's supremacy was to be maintained, and therefore the sooner it was undertaken the better. Some weeks elapsed, however, before the burghers could muster in force, and while they were preparing to take the field, on the 24th of June the Bapedi attacked the lager at Kruger's Post and, though they were beaten off, got possession of all the cattle that had been kept there.

Just at this time the second large party of farmers, under Commandant J. C. Greyling and Fieldcornet L. M. Duplessis, that migrated from the republic to Damaraland, and eventually to Mossamedes in Portuguese territory, because they feared to remain in a country of which the head was not of the orthodox faith, left their homes and followed the path through the desert that the pioneer emigrants under Commandant Van Zyl had opened up with almost incredible suffering rather over two years before. There could not be a stronger example of what hardships earnest men and women were prepared to undergo in the execution of what they held to be their duty than those resolute people displayed, and their departure was a serious loss to the country.

At length the commando, eleven hundred men in all, set out, with the president at its head. It was the greatest mistake he could make, for not only was he ignorant of military matters, but his presence caused fear and dejection to prevail. A strong position called Mathebi's Kop, which Mr. Burgers named Little Gibraltar, was reached, but the first attack upon it failed. Like every other stronghold of the Bantu in this part of the country, artificial terraces or ledges had been

made along the face of a hill, and upon these, rising one above the other, the huts were built. The paths up to them were protected by rough stone walls, behind which the warriors were sheltered, and walls were also constructed along the outer edge of every terrace. A hill thus fortified was really impregnable, if the assailants were armed with assagais and battle axes only, and was difficult to take by men with rifles in their hands, though of course it could not long have been occupied against a foe in possession of field guns. Mr. Burgers was unfortunate in being without artillery. As the Bapedi, however, had no means of preserving a large supply of water, a primitive fortress such as this could not have held out long against a strong body of besiegers.

At three o'clock in the morning of the 4th of July the commando, aided by five or six hundred Swazis, made another attempt, and on this occasion after fighting for forty-eight hours the stronghold was taken, with a loss of three burghers and seven Swazis killed and twenty-nine men wounded. The Bapedi defended the place from behind the walls on every ledge, which were taken one after another and held while the assailants rested, until the last one was gained, when the Swazis rushed in and completed the task. These ferocious allies were not accustomed to give quarter, and the loss of the Bapedi was consequently great.

On the 14th of July the stronghold occupied by Johannes was attacked, and was taken by the Swazis, who acted in their usual manner. Johannes was among the slain.

There success ended. On the 2nd of August the mountain occupied by Sekukuni himself was attacked, and some huts in the lower part of the kraal were actually set on fire. It was a very strong position, but with a determined effort it might have been taken, though not without heavy loss of life. Shortly after the com-

mencement of the attack some burghers were seized with sudden fear, and in the firm belief that the Almighty would punish them if they continued to fight under an unorthodox leader, they fell back. Their example was contagious, and in a few minutes the whole commando was in full retreat. The president rushed to the front and begged the burghers to shoot him rather than disgrace him, but it was of no use. The flight was continued until the Steelpoort river, the boundary of Sekukuni's location, was reached. There a few men rallied round the president, but the great majority of the farmers dispersed to their homes. The military force of the republic had completely broken down, for even the Swazi contingent went back to their own country, expressing contempt for what they regarded as cowardice on the part of the burghers. And by many of the English in South Africa the retreat was regarded in the same light, for they could not comprehend the feelings of the farmers. Yet there were no men in the world who less deserved the name of cowards, as these same fugitives from Sekukuni's mountain proved most thoroughly a few years later, when they were led by devout commandants and believed implicitly that God was on their side. Most probably if Cromwell's army had by some mischance found itself under the leadership of a deist, it would have acted in the same way as the burghers of the South African Republic did at Sekukuni's mountain, for the guiding spirit of the two forces was identical.

According to a statement made by Sekukuni a few months later, he had lost about two thousand men killed, among whom were three of his own sons and two of his brothers.

At the Steelpoort river the president remained long enough to adopt the only plan that seemed open to him to prevent the Bapedi from sending raiding parties to pillage the farms at a distance. There was with him a Prussian officer named Conrad von Schlickmann, who

had been wounded in the Franco-German war seven years before, and had been decorated with the iron cross for distinguished bravery. He was of a good family, being nearly related to a general of high rank, but had drifted away to South Africa, and was an unsuccessful digger at the diamond fields. There he had taken a leading part in the disturbance which was suppressed by the dispatch of British troops under Lieutenant-General Cunynghame from Capetown, and was one of those exempted from the amnesty granted by Lieutenant-Governor Southey on the 1st of July 1875.* He was utterly fearless, and seemed to the president to be just the man that was needed. He was commissioned to raise a force of volunteers and to build and occupy a couple of forts in such positions that he could prevent the Bapedi from cultivating gardens, and could also make use of any opportunity to do them damage. The volunteers were to be equipped free of charge, were to have rations, to be paid £5 a month, to have whatever cattle they could capture from the enemy, and upon the conclusion of peace were to be provided with farms two thousand morgen in extent without payment.

A few men volunteered at once, and commenced to build a fort, while Captain von Schlickmann went to the goldfields, where he obtained thirty-seven recruits. On the 29th of September, Fort Burgers, as the structure on the bank of the Steelpoort river was called, was attacked by a strong party of Bapedi, who were beaten off by the puny garrison after two of the officers had been killed. At the time of the attack ninety recruits, led by Mr. Alfred Aylward, enlisted at the diamond fields, where great depression then prevailed, were on the way to Fort Burgers, and when they arrived the place was regarded as quite secure. The men in garrison were English,

* The names of those exempted from the amnesty and who were put upon their trial for sedition, but were acquitted, were Henry Tucker, William Ling, Alfred Aylward, Gustavus Robert Blanch, Conrad von Schlickmann, and John Brien.

Irish, and Germans. Another, but less important, fort was built on the high land to the westward of Sekukuni's kraal, and was garrisoned by Dutch-speaking volunteers. It was named Fort Weeber.

The president returned to Pretoria, and summoned the volksraad to meet in extraordinary session. Surely no legislative body ever assembled under more depressing circumstances than that which came together on the 4th of September to deliberate upon the condition of the republic, and to devise measures of improvement. The treasury was empty, and without money even the little force of volunteers could not be kept together. There was one remedy, indeed, but it could not be applied, for want of time if for no other reason. Had Mr. Burgers resigned, and a man of ability and orthodox religion, whom the burghers would have been willing to support, taken his place, it is possible that even then the fortunes of the country might have been retrieved. But so far was he from even thinking of resigning that he regarded such a step as a betrayal of duty, as an abandonment of the state in the time of its utmost need, and he announced his intention of standing again for the presidency in February 1877.

The volksraad did not know what to do, and the most discordant opinions were expressed. Only one thing all the members were agreed upon, to have nothing to do with Lord Carnarvon's scheme of confederation if it involved any loss of their perfect independence. At length a majority resolved to impose a special tax of £10 upon every quitrent farm and £2 upon every adult male resident not in possession of a farm, and to keep the volunteers in the field. The raad then closed its session, leaving matters in very little better condition than before it met, for no one believed the special taxes would be paid when the ordinary imposts remained unsettled.

On the 17th of November Captain von Schlickmann was killed while leading the volunteers in an attack

upon the kraal of the petty chief Magali at Mahera's Kloof. He was exposing himself recklessly, and calling to his followers to press on, when he was struck in the stomach by a ball, which passed through him. Eight of his men were wounded at the same time. Mr. Alfred Aylward,* an Irishman who had taken a leading part in the disturbance at the diamond fields, and who had also been excluded by Lieutenant-Governor Southey from the amnesty, then assumed command of the volunteers. A jovial, good-hearted, fearless man, Aylward was perfectly at home in his new occupation, and succeeded in harassing the Bapedi to such an extent that by the advice of the reverend Mr. Merensky, of the Berlin missionary society, Sekukuni asked for peace. Commandant Ferreira was sent to meet his principal counsellors, and on the 15th of February 1877 terms were arranged. Sekukuni agreed to pay two thousand head of cattle and to lose a small portion of his location. It was afterwards disputed whether he had, or had not, agreed also to pay taxes as a subject of the republic. That he had not been thoroughly subdued was soon apparent.

The prospect of voluntary confederation with the British colonies being now disposed of, it was unnecessary for either the secretary of state or the high commissioner to act as cautiously as before in dealing with the republic. Both of them professed to regard Sekukuni as an independent chief, and on the 12th of July 1876 Lord Carnarvon announced that he would not permit of any extension of the border of the republic, and that he believed the war with the Bapedi might endanger the peace of Natal. And on the 6th of October Sir Henry Barkly wrote to President Burgers, protesting against the continuance of the war and the employment of the Swazis in it.

On the 5th of October 1876 Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who was then in London, was appointed a special com-

* Author of *The Transvaal of To-day*, a demi octavo volume of 428 pages, published in London in 1878.

missioner to make enquiries as to the causes of the war in the South African Republic, and if necessary to annex to the British dominions any territory with the consent of a sufficient number of the inhabitants. This was certainly not treating the republic as a sovereign independent state, as the farmers resident in it claimed it to be, and the only justification for such a measure that has ever been put forward either in Great Britain or South Africa is that the condition of the country made it a menace to the safety of the neighbouring British colonies. Whether that was so, or not, is a matter on which agreement is not to be expected even now. But a mere glance at English literature of the day will show that in Great Britain the people were disposed to believe that Sekukuni had been instigated by Ketshwayo to resist aggression by the farmers, and had succeeded in repelling them ignominiously, thus unsettling the Bantu tribes and causing them to be defiant all over South Africa. So, it was said, when a house is on fire the occupiers of adjoining premises are justified in extinguishing the blaze, whether the owner desires it or not. And at this time it was believed not only in England, but in Natal, that Ketshwayo was intent upon invading the Transvaal and massacring its inhabitants. Later events have shown that there was really little danger of this, and the Transvaal people were not then afraid of a Zulu invasion, but at the time there were circumstances that tended to support such a belief. The Zulu chief was playing off Natal against the Transvaal, trying to make each believe that he had grievances against the other.

Then there was the matter of Umbelini. This man was the favourite son of Umswazi, and upon the death of his father endeavoured to supplant his half-brother Umbandeni in the succession to the chieftainship. Umbandeni, however, being the son of the great wife and therefore the lawful heir, had the support of the greater portion of the tribe, and Umbelini was defeated and com-

pelled to flee. He took refuge in Zululand, where he claimed the protection of Ketshwayo for himself and his followers, which was granted to him. Umbelini became, as he said, Ketshwayo's dog, but a very snarling ill-tempered animal he proved to be to everyone except his new master. He was especially vindictive towards his own countrymen who had disowned him, and delighted in nothing more than in making raids upon little Bantu kraals, whose occupants were living quietly as subjects of the republican government and were also friends of the Swazis. Ketshwayo disowned responsibility for this man's actions, but at the same time gave him shelter and took no steps to keep him in order.

Such then was the condition of the South African Republic at this time. Trade of all kinds had nearly ceased, there was no money in the treasury, and the farmers—even some of the members of the volksraad who had voted for special taxation—were unable or unwilling to meet their obligations to the state, the commando system had utterly broken down, the gold diggers and nearly all the English and German residents in the villages were acting as they chose without paying any regard to the republican officials, and the Bantu tribes could not be controlled. The want of confidence between the great majority of the burghers and the head of the state had such a condition of things as its natural result. Add to all this that an election for a president was shortly to take place, and that Mr. Paul Kruger, the very incarnation of the opinions of the orthodox burghers, was practically sure of being returned, and the prospects of Mr. Burgers and the so-called liberal and progressive party—the party of the towns as against the farms—was gloomy indeed.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone sailed from England in the *Windsor Castle*, which was wrecked on Dassen Island on the 19th of October 1876, fortunately without loss of life. He made some stay in Capetown and in Maritzburg,

conferring with the authorities and learning as much as he could of their views with regard to his mission. On the 28th of December he left Natal for Pretoria, accompanied by Mr. Melmoth Osborn, resident magistrate of Newcastle, Captain Clarke of the royal artillery, resident magistrate of Maritzburg, Captain James of the thirteenth regiment, Mr. Morcom, an official of the attorney-general's department, Mr. Fynney, Bantu interpreter, Dr. J. Vacy Lyle, M.D., and Colonel Brooke of the royal engineers. Mr. (later Sir) Rider Haggard, the eminent novelist, who was acting as the special commissioner's private secretary, was also with the party. Sub-Inspector Phillips with twenty-five men of the Natal mounted police went as an escort.

On the 22nd of January 1877 the special commissioner reached Pretoria. In the villages along the route he had been warmly welcomed by the English and German residents, and even a few farmers gave him a cordial greeting. He told them he had come as a friend to assist the country, and they seem to have believed that his intention was to do so without interfering with its independence. At the seat of government he had a state reception as the special representative of her Majesty the queen of England, which was followed by a series of festivities. When these were ended business was entered on, and Messrs. Osborn and Henderson were appointed by Sir Theophilus Shepstone to confer with Messrs. Kruger and Jorissen, and ascertain the condition of affairs. The first conference took place on the 26th of January 1877. Mr. Kruger was quite willing to talk over the state of affairs and to give whatever information was required, but he refused to discuss any matter affecting the independence of the country.

The president called the volksraad together, and on the 13th of February it met. The election for a president was to have taken place in a few days, but as everyone realised that it could not then be held, the raad resolved to

postpone it until May. The arrangement of peace with Sekukuni was confirmed. Mr. Burgers in an impassioned speech laid before the members the desperate financial condition of the country, owing to neither the ordinary nor the special taxes having been paid to anything like the amount absolutely needed. He proposed certain reforms, which they rejected without even discussing them. They were the establishment of a supreme court with properly qualified judges to take the place of the court of combined landdrosts, the alteration of the constitution of the executive council by making it consist of the heads of departments, the maintenance of a regular police force, the adoption of a common policy with the other South African communities regarding the treatment of the Bantu, and the entrance into a railway, postal, telegraph, and customs convention with the Orange Free State and the British colonies. These measures were so commendable that they would certainly have been adopted if any other man than Mr. Burgers had proposed them, but coming from him they were regarded with suspicion. Some of the members indeed were inclined to consider them upon their own merits, but as three or four hundred armed farmers had ridden into Pretoria to ascertain the special commissioner's intentions, while they were there the volksraad could only act as it did.

On the 1st of March the intention of the special commissioner was definitely made known. The armed burghers who were in Pretoria insisted upon a clear explanation, and in consequence the president and members of the executive council met him and requested him to give them the information needed. He replied to the effect that he had come as a friend to save the country. Mr. Paul Kruger then asked if there was an intention to take their independence from them. The commissioner replied that the inherent weakness of the state left him no alternative. Mr. Kruger said that could be remedied, but the commissioner responded that he did not think it possible.

The volksraad now considered the matter with closed doors, when it was resolved that in May a president should be elected for a term of five years, that an executive council should then be chosen by the raad, that there should be a permanent police force of one hundred and twenty-five men and a corps of artillery, that a supreme court of properly qualified judges should be established, and that periodical circuit courts should be held. A new office was created, that of vice-president of the republic, and by the volksraad Mr. Paul Kruger was elected to fill it.

Without any delay Mr. Burgers carried one of these resolutions into effect. The position of judge was offered to Advocate Kotzé, who was then practising in the Cape Colony, and who accepted it. He arrived in Pretoria and assumed the duty only a few days later.

The Lydenburg volunteers under Mr. Aylward made no objection to the change of title to that of police, and shortly afterwards proved their fidelity by quelling a disturbance at Pilgrim's Rest, where the diggers had forcibly released the editor of the *Goldfields Mercury* from the prison in which he had been confined for a defamatory article on the gold commissioner.

Meantime declarations in favour of including the Transvaal in the British dominions were being received from the English and German residents in various parts of the country, and the farmers were taking no active steps to oppose them. Mr. Burgers himself had come to the conclusion that nothing else could save the country from ruin, and he actually assisted in the wording of the proclamation by which independence was to be destroyed and submitted in turn for the special commissioner's approval the protest which it would be necessary for him to make. He knew that he did not stand the remotest chance of being reelected in May, but it would be unjust to assume that he was influenced by this in pursuing the course that he did. It was his

sincere conviction, and no one, as he afterwards asserted, regretted the fall of the republic through its own feebleness as much or as sincerely as he did. He never acknowledged, and it is even possible that he never realised, how much his own lack of orthodoxy had contributed to its downfall.

On the 11th of April at a meeting of the executive council a communication from Sir Theophilus Shepstone was read, in which he announced that he had decided to proclaim, without delay, British authority over the South African Republic. A resolution was then adopted unanimously by the members, of which the following is an English translation :

“Whereas her Britannic Majesty’s government, by the convention of Sand River in 1852, has solemnly pledged the independence of the people to the north of the Vaal river, and whereas the government of the South African Republic is not aware of ever having given any reason for hostile action on the part of her Majesty’s government, or any grounds for such an act of violence ;

“Whereas, this government has always shown its readiness, and is still prepared, to do all that in justice and equity may be demanded, and also to remove all causes of dissatisfaction that may exist ;

“Whereas also this government has repeatedly expressed its entire willingness to enter into such treaties or agreements with her Majesty’s government as may be considered necessary for the general protection of the white population of South Africa, and is prepared punctually to execute such agreements ;

“Whereas, according to public statements of her Majesty’s secretary of state for the colonies, Lord Carnarvon, there exists no desire on the part of the British government to force the people of the South African Republic against their wish under the authority of the British government ;

“Whereas the people, by memorials or otherwise, have, by a large majority, plainly stated that they are averse to it;

“Whereas this government is aware that it is not in a condition to maintain the rights and independence of the people with the sword against the superior power of Great Britain, and moreover has no desire in any way to take any steps by which the white inhabitants of South Africa would be divided, in the face of the common enemy, against each other, or might come in hostile contact with each other, to the great danger of the Christian population of South Africa, without having first employed all means to secure in a peaceful way and by friendly mediation the rights of the people;

“Therefore the government protests most strongly against this act of her Majesty’s special commissioner.

“It is also further resolved to send without delay a commission of delegates to Europe and America, with full power and instruction to add to their number a third person, if required, in order to endeavour in the first place to lay before her Majesty’s government the desire and wishes of the people, and in case this might not have the desired effect, which this government would deeply regret, and cannot as yet believe, then to appeal to the friendly assistance and intercession of other powers, particularly of those which have acknowledged the independence of this state.

“As members of this commission are appointed the honourable attorney-general, Dr. E. J. F. Jorissen, and S. J. P. Kruger, vice-president of the South African Republic.”

On the 12th of April 1877 a proclamation was issued by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and was formally read by Mr. Melmoth Osborn to a number of people assembled to hear it, in which the South African Republic was declared to be a portion of the British dominions, the reasons assigned being those already mentioned as constituting danger to the whole of South Africa. The British

flag was then hoisted by Mr. Rider Haggard. The president recorded a protest, but it was regarded as a mere matter of form. An address to the people was issued at the same time, in which their deplorable condition was pointed out, and the certainty of improvement under British rule assured. The burghers were relieved of the payment of the war tax, and the few who had met this obligation were promised that the amount would be deducted from the ordinary taxes when due. The Bantu were relieved from the charges for passes which were needed when they were travelling, which was believed to be most gratifying to them. No resistance was offered by any one to this act of annexation.

The special commissioner then assumed the administration of the government. The former officials who were willing to take an oath of allegiance to her Britannic Majesty were retained in their posts, and £20,000 was drawn from the military chest to meet the most urgent needs. The first battalion of the thirteenth regiment, fifty artillerymen with four field guns, and a few engineers and Natal mounted police, eight hundred men in all, that had been waiting in readiness at Newcastle, now marched without opposition to Pretoria to support the new government.

Mr. Burgers left at once for the Cape Colony, where he took up his residence. As he had expended all his private means in the service of the republic, the imperial authorities granted him part repayment in the form of a pension, payable from the revenue of the new dependency, which enabled him to live without anxiety until the 9th of December 1881, when he died.

So fell the South African Republic, after a troublous existence of nearly forty years, from the time that Commandant Hendrik Potgieter drove away the Matabele under Moselekatse and took possession of the country.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TRANSVAAL IN 1877 AND 1878 UNDER BRITISH RULE.

THE intelligence that the Transvaal had been proclaimed within the British realm was received by the majority of people throughout South Africa with a feeling of regret, because every one knew that the burghers there were almost to a man opposed to it. It is true that no one could then foresee the bloodshed and waste of money this unfortunate measure would cause, yet no thoughtful person could look upon the situation created by it without apprehension of grave danger. Even in Natal, where there was a prospect of commercial gain, it was commonly regarded as an act that a wise statesman would have avoided. Many years previously Sir Theophilus Shepstone had endeavoured to induce the imperial government to allow him to remove the bulk of the Bantu in Natal to the territory then vacant along the head waters of the Umzimvubu river, where he proposed that he should rule over them as a semi-independent chief, but his plans were frustrated by the clear foresight of Sir George Grey. And now those who knew him best considered that his annexation of the Transvaal was merely his old project carried out with another race and in another field.

There was indeed a small number of men, terming themselves imperialists, who expressed great satisfaction with what had been done, and who talked glibly of the ease with which Great Britain could keep an army in this country strong enough to suppress all opposition to her will, but such men are better adapted to wreck

an empire than to strengthen it. They only intensified the racial feeling of the farmers, which prudent men were striving to allay.

The view taken in the Orange Free State, which was a true reflection of that in the larger portion of the Cape Colony, was shown by the proceedings in the volksraad, which assembled on the 7th of May 1877.

The president in his opening speech merely stated what had occurred, as made known in the *Government Gazette*, without expressing any opinion whatever, but on the 23rd of May the matter was brought on for discussion. There was a warm feeling expressed that an act of injustice had been committed, which would prevent anything like unity of action between the different communities in South Africa in case of a general rising of the Bantu, and, if not rectified, would cause great bitterness and distrust regarding the dealings of Great Britain with this country. The discussion ended by the following resolution, proposed by Mr. H. Klynveld and seconded by Mr. J. E. de Villiers, being carried almost unanimously, only three members not voting for it:

“The volksraad of the Orange Free State makes known its deep regret that the sister republic, while existing in perfect peace with her Britannic Majesty’s government, against the wish of the government and the majority of the people was proclaimed British territory by her Britannic Majesty’s commissioner Sir Theophilus Shepstone. The raad believes that measure will be most prejudicial in its consequences for the common interests of the white population of all South Africa, and hopes, placing confidence in the justice of her Britannic Majesty’s government, that the wrong done to a free and independent people will be redressed after calm consideration. The raad therefore trusts that the mission of the deputation from the people and the government of the South African republic will be crowned with good success.”

What might have happened under other circumstances should seldom be discussed in history, but in this instance later events have made so much plain that could not have been foreseen in 1877, that it is safe to say what the wisest course would then have been to follow. The independence of the republic should have been respected. The election of a president should not have been interfered with, when Mr. Paul Kruger would certainly have been chosen by a very large majority. He should then have been assisted to put the finances of the country in order, which was really the only difficulty in the way of good government and prosperity, and not another word should have been said about the independence of Sekukuni or the Keate award. In such a case the president and people alike would have regarded England as a true friend, and the distrust and dislike which prevailed for so many years would have been prevented. Mr. Kruger would have been known as a very different man from what he afterwards became. There would not have been the slightest difficulty in arranging postal, telegraph, railway, and customs conventions, or in the adoption of a common policy towards the Bantu. As was stated by more than one member of the Free State volksraad, it would have been easy to enter into an arrangement by which in case of war each community would have been bound to assist the others, so that to the Bantu the Europeans would appear as one power, and consequently be more respected.

Had such a condition of things been brought about, though the Transvaal would have retained its flag and its independence, there would have been practical unity between the republics and the British colonies, and in course of time a feeling that full political union would be better for all might have grown to maturity. This was the belief of Mr. J. C. Molteno, then prime minister of the Cape Colony, and of many other

thoughtful men. And what a sea of blood and what millions of treasure it would have saved! But it was not to be, and so only what actually took place remains to be recorded in history.

Messrs. Kruger and Jorissen, who had been appointed by the executive council of the republic to convey their protest to England, left Pretoria for that purpose as soon as they could make the necessary arrangements. On the 4th of July they were admitted by Lord Carnarvon to an interview at the colonial office in London, and were received most courteously. They stated their case, presented the protest with which they were charged, and requested that Sir Theophilus Shepstone's proclamation should be cancelled, to which his Lordship replied that it was impossible to restore the independence of the Transvaal. He assured them, however, that he was disposed to do everything in his power to promote the welfare of the country, and invited them to favour him with their views as to how it should be governed as a dependency of the British crown. This, they said, they were unable to do, as they regarded it as of right an independent state.

On subsequent occasions Lord Carnarvon repeated his invitation, which may be summed up as: only consent to be British subjects and to enter into confederation with the other South African colonies, and every possible privilege will be granted to you. Yet he seemed to believe that the great majority of the Transvaal burghers were in favour of British rule, and was confirmed in this opinion by the tone of Sir Theophilus Shepstone's despatches. For instance, on the 26th of July the administrator wrote describing a tour he had just made, asserting that he had been enthusiastically received in the towns, and forwarding copies of addresses presented to him at Ventersdorp, Lichtenburg, Zeerust, Rustenburg, and Marthinus-Wessel-Stroom. Lord Carnarvon of course did not know that these addresses represented only the

floating population of the villages, and not at all the landholders of the country. Under these circumstances it is difficult to understand why he should have made such efforts to secure the goodwill of the delegates who, he believed, represented only a small minority of the people.

On the 18th of August he wrote to Messrs. Kruger and Jorissen that he was willing to do all that was possible in favour of the Dutch-speaking people of the Transvaal, whose language should remain one of the official languages of the country. The British government had already advanced £100,000 to the new dependency, and he would request the Cape and Natal to contribute to it a share of the customs duty on imports passing through those colonies to it. Its schools, telegraphs, roads, and railways would be attended to. He could not consent to a vote of the people being taken, as Mr. Kruger had proposed, to ascertain who were in favour of and who against British rule, because he could not allow an act performed in the queen's name to be questioned: it was irrevocable. He added: "I should consider it in the highest degree inexpedient to place on record that an extremely small minority of the community, as I believe you agree with me in estimating it to be, is opposed to an acceptance of the queen's rule."

The delegates visited Holland, Belgium, France, and Germany, and everywhere received expressions of sympathy with their cause, but none of the governments was willing to do anything to assist them. They then returned to South Africa, and announced the failure of their mission.

Meantime the administrator found himself greatly embarrassed for want of money. On the 16th of April he appointed a commission to examine the state of the finances, and bring in a report as soon as possible. This commission found that, including the railway loan in Holland and the sum borrowed from the Cape Com-

mercial bank, £248,088 would be required to pay off the public debt, in addition to which it was supposed that there might be some small claims not yet sent in. The books in the treasury and in the audit department were found to be in the greatest confusion, but as well as could be ascertained a sum amounting to £133,971 was needed immediately to meet pressing obligations. Upon this being made known in England, an amount of £100,000 was advanced as a loan by the imperial treasury, and Mr. W. C. Sergeaunt, a qualified accountant, was sent out to put the books in order and make a proper statement of the financial condition. Mr. Sergeaunt reached Pretoria in December 1877, but had such difficulty in tracing the accounts that he was unable to send in a report until the 15th of August 1878. He found that at the time of annexation the Transvaal had a debenture debt of £156,833 6s. 8d., namely, £63,000 in Capetown and £93,833 6s. 8d. in Amsterdam. Of the money raised by President Burgers in Holland, £63,200 had been expended in payment for railway material to a firm in Belgium. There was at the same time a floating debt, or sums owing for various purposes, of £138,238, making the total liabilities on the 12th of April 1877 £295,071 6s. 8d.

Mr. Melmoth Osborn was at this time colonial secretary at Pretoria, and Mr. Henrique C. Shepstone secretary for native affairs, in addition to whom several other Natal officials had been appointed to important posts in the Transvaal. The appointment of these officials raised the status of the civil service, though their want of acquaintance with the language of the people made them less useful than they would otherwise have been.

The attitude of nearly the whole of the people of the country towards the new officials was avoidance as much as possible of any intercourse with them. The farmers asked no favours, and they abstained from making any

complaints. The only prominent instance at this time in which this rule was not strictly observed was a letter from Mr. Marthinus W. Pretorius addressed to Sir Theophilus Shepstone on the 14th of January 1878, bringing to his notice that many guns and large quantities of ammunition were being brought into the country from the diamond fields by Bantu, and objecting strongly to this being permitted.

The Transvaal was not long a British dependency when it became necessary for the administrator to examine the position of Sekukuni, with the result that he became convinced that the Bapedi were not independent, as the British authorities before the annexation had believed them to be, but were in reality subjects and rebels. A demand was made upon Sekukuni for the two thousand head of cattle he had agreed to pay when terms were granted to him by President Burgers' government, but he sent in only two hundred and forty-five head with a few small tusks of ivory and some goats. The administrator returned these to him, with a demand for all that was due, and the chief then took up arms again. On this occasion he was instigated to rebel by Ketshwayo, who had assumed a hostile attitude towards the Transvaal when it became a British possession and Natal could no longer be played off against it.

In February 1878 the Bapedi attacked a number of kraals of little clans who were obedient subjects, swept off their cattle, and otherwise despoiled them. In all haste Sir Theophilus Shepstone sent to Natal for military assistance, and the three hundred men of the ninetieth regiment who had just arrived there were forwarded to Middelburg to protect that locality. At this time it was necessary to keep two companies of the eightieth and three companies of the thirteenth at Utrecht, on account of raids frequently made by Umbelini in that district.

About the middle of the month (February 1878) the chieftainess Legolwana, who was a sister of Sekukuni,

sent an armed party to assist her brother in an attack upon the obedient chief Pokwana, whose kraal was near Fort Weeber. The fort was then occupied by a small party of volunteers under Commandant Schultz. The commandant sent ten mounted men to remonstrate with Legolwana's people, but on their approach they were fired upon, and were therefore obliged to ride back again. Pokwana was then attacked, many of his people were killed, and his kraals and crops were much damaged.

Sekukuni's division of the force next attacked the farmers in the Waterval valley near Lydenburg, all of whom managed to escape except one, named Venter, who was murdered. The whole of the cattle were swept off, and other damage was done.

The administrator appealed to the country for volunteers to assist Captain Clarke to suppress the rebellion, but met with hardly any response. The answer of the burghers was: restore our independence, we will not fight for a country that is not our own. For want of money to pay them he had been obliged to dismiss the police under Captain Aylward, and had raised in their stead a force of two hundred Natal blacks, who were stationed at Lydenburg under command of Captain Clarke. It could hardly be expected that white men, whether Dutch or English-speaking, would care to fight side by side with these men, except as officers over them.

At the beginning of March Fort Burgers was besieged by a Bapedi force about five hundred strong. There were only six men, including their leader Mr. George Eckersley, to defend it, but they managed to hold out until one hundred and four of the Natal blacks arrived and enabled them to escape by night. On this occasion volunteers were called for at Pretoria to go to the rescue and afterwards assist to hold the fort, but only three men came forward. The people had no spirit in the cause, and seemed to be indifferent as to what became of the country under the new government.

On the 9th of March Fort Weeber was abandoned, and the twenty-five men under Commandant Schultz that had garrisoned it were sent to Lydenburg to assist in the operations against Sekukuni from that village. The Bapedi were at this time attacking and plundering the obedient clans in all directions, and Captain Clarke, for want of sufficient force, was obliged to act on the defensive only. On the 24th, however, he was able to leave Lydenburg with one hundred of the Natal black police, and march to Fort Weeber, which on his arrival he found had been destroyed by Legolwana. But as he had arranged with Captain Van Deventer to try to get a party of volunteers together to meet him there and attack the hostile chieftainness, he formed a temporary camp, and awaited the hoped-for assistance. On the 20th Captain Van Deventer arrived with fifty English and German volunteers, whom he had obtained in Pretoria, and seven hundred and seventy obedient Bantu were enrolled as auxiliaries.

At early dawn on the 5th of April an attack was made upon Legolwana's kraal, which was on a conical hill, and after two hours' severe fighting by the volunteers and the Natal black policemen, all the terraces except the uppermost were taken. The obedient Bantu, who were termed the friendlies, gave no assistance, but remained at the foot of the hill firing their guns recklessly. Four of the Natal blacks were killed, and five of the volunteers and seven of the Natal blacks were wounded. Twenty-seven dead bodies of the defenders were counted, and two hundred and seventy-seven head of horned cattle and two hundred and eleven sheep and goats were captured. The greater part of the kraal was burnt, but Legolwana was not made a prisoner, nor was her power much weakened by this reverse.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone now applied to Major Lanyon for assistance, and, much to the credit of the people of the diamond fields, on the 4th of May Captain Stewart left Kimberley with two officers and one hundred and one

men for Pretoria. No part of South Africa excelled Griqualand West in the efforts made to maintain European supremacy at this troublesome period. Without any assistance from outside her own border, without a single imperial soldier, she suppressed a formidable rebellion of well-armed coloured people, many of whom were hunters by occupation and skilful in the use of the rifle, for which purpose she put seven hundred volunteers in the field. She sent the diamond field horse to assist the Cape Colony against the rebel Rarabe clans, and now she sent a detachment of the same corps to aid the Transvaal. They were not by any means all unemployed men, glad to get anything to do, who offered their services, many of them made considerable sacrifices to meet what they felt to be the call of honour and duty.

The number of men raised in the Transvaal, however, was so small that, even with this addition, nothing of any importance could be done to weaken the power of Sekukuni. The only event worthy of mention took place from the 17th to the 22nd of June, when the stronghold of the petty chief Mahali was invested by volunteers under Captains Ferreira and Raaff, and was at length taken and destroyed. Five volunteers and one Natal black lost their lives in the final assault, and seven volunteers and one black were wounded.

From that time until the 14th of July nothing was done. Then Captain J. P. Ferreira with thirty mounted and fifty-six unmounted men who after the suppression of the rebellion in the Cape Colony had marched through Kaffraria to Natal and thence to the Transvaal, aided by Captain Van Deventer and ten mounted men of his corps, burned and destroyed the kraals of seven petty chiefs subordinate to Sekukuni on the eastern side of the Lulu mountains. But so little effect had these flea-bites upon the defiant Bapedi chief that soon afterwards he sent a taunting message to the administrator asking if there would be any objection to his occupying the

ground on which Fort Weeber had stood. He could boast of some success too, for on the 7th of August the camp of the diamond field horse was surprised, and fifty-two horses and forty-eight oxen that were grazing were captured and driven away.

In August all the men of the eightieth regiment that were not already there were sent to the Transvaal, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Rowlands, C.B., V.C., was placed by General Thesiger in command of the whole of the imperial forces in the country, with directions to suppress the rebellion of the Bapedi. The frontier light horse, as Carrington's corps had been renamed, two hundred strong, then commanded by Major Redvers Buller, C.B., was also sent to aid in this duty, and arrived in September. An application was made to the Swazi chief for a contingent, but he was unable to supply one, as Ketshwayo was threatening to make war upon him. There were three hundred and seventy-five local volunteers, mostly gold diggers, and ninety-six Natal black policemen at Lydenburg to draw upon.

On the 19th of September twelve hundred soldiers of the line and six hundred cavalry were assembled at Fort Burgers, where a depôt for stores and provisions was formed, to serve as the base of operations.

On the 5th of October Colonel Rowlands with three hundred and twenty-eight mounted men and one hundred and thirty infantry left this camp for the purpose of forming an outpost close to Sekukuni's stronghold. He had with him also two seven-pounder mountain guns, and a number of loaded waggons. His intention was to obtain information concerning the rebels and their means of defence, to send out patrols from the new outpost to seize cattle and harass the Bapedi, and ultimately to bring up reinforcements and attack the stronghold. The distance from his base to the point aimed at was about forty kilometres or twenty-five English miles.

Almost immediately after setting out difficulties were encountered. There was no proper road, so the march was necessarily very slow, only five or six miles being covered in the course of a day. Water was obtainable only at long intervals, so that men and animals often suffered very severely from thirst. Then swarms of Bapedi hovered around, and kept pace with the column as it moved on. They did not venture to come to close quarters, and where the ground was favourable could be kept at a respectful distance by the fire of the seven-pounders, but they prevented the horses and oxen being sent far to graze, so that the animals soon grew weak from hunger. On one occasion the slaughter oxen stampeded from the fire of the cannon, and fell into the insurgents' hands, causing no small loss to the troops.

At length by perseverance a point close to Sekukuni's stronghold was reached, when it became apparent to Colonel Rowlands that the place would be very difficult to take, and that there was no possibility of maintaining a station in the neighbourhood at that time of the year, as it was the unhealthy season for men and the horse sickness was already appearing. He therefore abandoned his design, and fell back to his camp at Fort Burgers, which he reached with his men, horses, and oxen utterly exhausted. The casualties were one soldier wounded and twenty horses lost. The Bapedi were as jubilant over this event as they had been over the retreat of the commando under President Burgers, and their emissaries were soon busy conveying the intelligence in greatly exaggerated language to the tribes far and near.

The only success gained at this time, and that a very slight one, fell to Colonel Rowlands on the 27th of October. On that day he left his camp with one hundred and forty mounted men, three hundred and forty infantry, and two hundred and fifty Bantu auxiliaries, and by a single quick march reached the kraal of one of Sekukuni's dependent chieftains at a distance of

about eight kilometres or five miles, which he burned killing some sixteen men, seizing the cattle, and destroying the grain.

This ended the effort of Colonel Rowlands to subdue the rebels. He withdrew his forces to healthier positions, intending to resume operations when the sickly season was over, but before that time came every British soldier in South Africa was needed to take part in a contest compared with which the struggle with Sekukuni sinks into insignificance.

The report of Messrs. Kruger and Jorissen when they returned from England that Lord Carnarvon had refused to restore the independence of the Transvaal was received by the burghers with great disappointment. The declaration of the secretary of state that he believed the great majority of the people were in favour of British rule, however, created a hope that if the true condition of things were made known to him in a manner that could not be challenged, he would change his opinion and do as they wished. Public meetings were then held all over the country, at which it was resolved that memorials should be drawn up, one in favour of British rule, and one in favour of independence, which should be submitted to the electors, with a request that they should sign one or the other, or, if they preferred to do so, abstain from signing at all. It was computed that there were about eight thousand persons entitled to vote in the matter. By each assemblage a committee was appointed, who should meet with all the other committees after the memorials had been signed, and decide what should then be done.

On the 11th of March 1878 Sir Theophilus Shepstone issued a proclamation threatening punishment of those taking part in public meetings opposed to the government, but it had no other effect than exciting indignation, as every one was prepared to set him at defiance. Englishmen may regret that such a feeling existed, and

may believe that the farmers were exceedingly perverse for not preferring to work cordially with the new government for the benefit of all South Africa, but no one who asks himself the question what he himself would do if a foreign power—no matter how benevolent—were to destroy the independence of his country, and who reflects upon what his attitude would likely be, can be surprised at the action of these men of kindred blood to our own.

On the 4th, 5th, and 6th of April the combined committees met at Doornfontein, and resolved to send Messrs. S. J. Paul Kruger and Pieter J. Joubert to England to endeavour to obtain the restoration of the independence of the country. The former deputation had gone as representing a defunct government, the present one would go as representing the great majority of the burghers, for they would take with them a memorial with six thousand nine hundred and fifty-one signatures in favour of independence against one with five hundred and eighty-seven signatures in favour of British rule. Mr. W. Eduard Bok was appointed secretary to accompany the deputation.

On the 14th of May Messrs. Kruger, Joubert, and Bok left Pretoria on this mission, after addressing a farewell letter to Sir Theophilus Shepstone, in which they described the country as in a condition worse than when it was proclaimed British territory, and referred to the wars with Bantu then being carried on over a wide area in British South Africa.

Having arrived in London, the deputation made its mission known to Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who was then secretary of state for the colonies, delivered the two memorials, and on the 10th of July addressed a letter to him, in which the annexation was protested against on the following grounds:

“1. That it is a violation of the convention entered into at Sand River in January 1852 between her Majesty's

assistant commissioners and the representatives of the emigrant farmers.

"2. That the reports as to the nature of the disturbances in the Transvaal, and the peril to the peace and safety of the adjoining colonies thereby threatened, and upon which the instructions to Sir Theophilus Shepstone were founded, were gross exaggerations of facts, and misrepresented the actual condition of the country.

"3. That the condition laid down in her Majesty's commission to Sir Theophilus Shepstone requiring the assent of the inhabitants thereof, or a sufficient number of them, or the legislature thereof, has not been complied with.

"4. That the British government cannot with justice avail themselves of the plea that the defencelessness and disorganisation of the republic, and the encroachments of the natives and consequent danger to the British colonies, made the intervention of their authority a necessary act, inasmuch as these evils, if they existed, were the direct result and consequence of the acts of their own representatives."

On the 6th of August Sir Michael Hicks Beach informed Messrs. Kruger and Jorissen in writing that it was impossible for many reasons that the queen's sovereignty should be withdrawn from the Transvaal. He said that the destiny of that country was not to be dependent upon the opinion of a majority of the white inhabitants only, and the question whether circumstances had arisen to justify the annexation was one which her Majesty claimed as the paramount power in South Africa to be alone entitled to answer. He added: "It is the object of her Majesty's government that the Transvaal should remain an integral and separate state, united with the neighbouring colonies, for purposes which are common to all, into a South African confederation, the centre of which would be in the Cape Colony; but possessing a constitution securing, to

the utmost practicable extent, its individuality and powers of self-government under the sovereignty of the queen."

So plain a declaration left no room for further discussion, and upon ascertaining that no European power was prepared to remonstrate on behalf of their cause, the delegates gave up hope of success, and on the 24th of October embarked in the mail steamer to return to South Africa.

An all-important subject at this time in the Transvaal as well as in Natal was the hostile attitude of Ketshwayo, head of the Zulu tribe. He had played off one of these countries against the other as long as they were under different governments, but when the Transvaal was annexed to the British dominions he could do so no longer. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, too, who when secretary for native affairs in Natal had regarded himself, and been regarded by many others, as having powerful influence in Zululand and as being the champion of the chief, when he became administrator of the Transvaal and examined the merits of the claim to land made by Ketshwayo, completely changed his former views, and opposed the Zulu pretensions. This irritated Ketshwayo not a little, and he began a series of provocations which made things very unpleasant along the border.

The tract of land long in dispute was that ceded by Ketshwayo in 1861 in return for the extradition of two of his fugitive brothers with their adherents and cattle, beaoned off in 1864 in concurrence with delegates sent by Panda and Ketshwayo for the purpose, and proclaimed part of the republic on the 25th of May 1875, by Acting President P. J. Joubert. When the elder of his brothers fled again, on this occasion into Natal, Ketshwayo considered himself a loser by the cession, and wanted the land restored to him, to which the republic would not consent. In Natal the chief's claim had been

regarded without investigation as probably a good one, for the Transvaal farmers were looked upon as aggressors on the lands of the Bantu, and on the 29th of June 1876 Lieutenant-Governor Sir Henry Bulwer wrote to Lord Carnarvon that the good faith of the Natal government required a settlement of the dispute. That colony had often before been appealed to by Ketshwayo in the matter, and now it was drawn directly into it.

As far as he could do so, Ketshwayo had restored the military system of Tshaka, which his father Panda had to a large extent allowed to fall into disuse, and was intent upon arming his soldiers with European weapons. An Englishman named John Dunn, who was living in his country, had for some time been importing guns for him through Delagoa Bay, not caring what the consequences to Natal or the Transvaal might be, though he was drawing a salary of £300 a year from the Natal government for protecting Tonga labourers passing through Zululand. In February 1878 it was rumoured that he intended to import some cannon also, so her Majesty's ship *Danæ* was sent to Delagoa Bay to induce the Portuguese authorities there to prevent it. Her commander found that no cannon had yet been landed, and the Portuguese governor, who was most friendly and fully alive to the danger of supplying munitions of war to a tribe like the Zulu, undertook that neither cannon nor small arms should pass through that port in future. This promise was faithfully kept, and so the Zulu army was less formidable than it would otherwise have been.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone had not long been administrator of the Transvaal when Ketshwayo, regarding him as a Zulu partisan, sent to ask him to restore the land along the eastern border that the Zulus wanted. This led to an examination into the merits of the case, with the result that after many messages had passed to and fro, it was found impossible to come to any satisfactory agreement.

On the 19th of October 1877 the administrator held a conference at the Blood river with about five hundred Zulus who had met to discuss the question of a boundary. With him were Mr. Henrique C. Shepstone, Captain Clarke, Mr. Gerhardus M. Rudolph, and Dr. Ash, besides an escort of forty-five mounted infantry. Umnyamana, Ketshwayo's principal executive officer, was present, and did most of the talking on the Zulu side, though there were several other indunas of high rank with the party. They laid claim to the whole country north of the Tugela and Buffalo rivers and east of the Drakensberg, which, they said, had once been Zulu property, and they wished it to be so again. This included the district of Utrecht, as well as the land ceded in 1861, and Sir T. Shepstone reminded them of the numerous occasions on which they had recognised the Blood river as the boundary, but talking was useless, for they would not admit anything. Before the conference closed they even claimed the portion of Natal between the Tugela and Buffalo rivers as theirs by right, and would not admit that Panda had ceded it to Commissioner Cloete for the British government. In the name of Ketshwayo they said the farmers must at once leave the land east of the Blood river.

Direct negotiation now ceased, and another form of advancing their claim was resorted to by the Zulus. Ketshwayo instigated Umbeliai and other vassals to worry the white people and the Bantu clans that were obedient to them, while he still professed to be friendly and peaceably disposed. Matters soon became so threatening on the eastern border that on the 5th of December the administrator was obliged to request Sir Henry Bulwer to send some soldiers from Newcastle to Utrecht to give confidence to the farmers in the neighbourhood, and two hundred and five men of the eightieth regiment and two seven-pounders were accordingly forwarded under command of Major Tucker.

At this time two lawyers in Natal, Dr. James Walter Smith and Mr. Francis Ernest Colenso, attempted to interfere in the Zulu difficulty by claiming to be Ketshwayo's fully empowered agents. Sir Henry Bulwer naturally refused to acknowledge them as such, as there could be no guarantee that the chief would feel himself bound by any arrangements they might make, and in fact he actually did disown them shortly afterwards. But they pressed their claim to be his legal representatives upon the high commissioner and the secretary of state for the colonies, and a great deal of correspondence passed backward and forward on the subject, without any recognition by British officials of the position they desired to fill.

By the beginning of 1878 a tract of land along the eastern border of the Transvaal more than one hundred and sixty kilometres long by forty-eight kilometres wide had been almost abandoned by white men, owing to the inroads of Umbelini and the threats and menaces of different Zulu indunas. The administrator was residing at Utrecht, but could do nothing to protect the farmers.

In January 1878 there was a likelihood of civil war breaking out in Zululand, which would give the Europeans in Natal and the Transvaal an opportunity to free themselves of the danger to which they were constantly exposed by the existence of the formidable barbarian power on their border. Hamu, Ketshwayo's brother, was a man of great influence in the country, and on that account was regarded by the supreme chief with much jealousy. The soldiers were aware of this, and parties were formed in the usual Zulu manner, by one regiment declaring its absolute obedience to the head of the nation, and another regiment its wish to be led by his brother. Of course there was no talk by any one of disloyalty to Ketshwayo, but in the condition of things then existing rebellion could easily have arisen. At the annual review of the army at Ondine in January 1878 the ingobamakosi, one of

Ketshwayo's most devoted and strongest regiments, picked a quarrel purposely with those who favoured Hamu, and a big fight took place, which resulted in the latter being driven from the field with heavy loss. Thereafter Hamu and his adherents used the greatest caution in their conduct and language, but the Europeans in Natal and the Transvaal knew that they were discontented, and in November 1878 Hamu actually invited their alliance by sending word that under no circumstances would he fight against them. Advantage, however, was not taken by either government to settle the Zulu difficulty in the way the emigrant farmers had settled it when they aided Panda against Dingana.

It was now arranged that the lieutenant-governor of Natal should appoint a commission to take evidence upon the dispute regarding the boundary and draw up a report, when with the high commissioner's concurrence a decision would be pronounced which Ketshwayo agreed to abide by. On the 26th of February 1878 the commission was appointed. It consisted of Mr. Michael Henry Gallway, attorney-general of Natal, Mr. John Wesley Shepstone, acting secretary for native affairs in Natal, and Lieutenant-Colonel Anthony William Durnford, of the royal engineers. It was provided with a military secretary, an escort of twenty men of the Natal mounted police under Sub-Inspector Campbell, and a competent Zulu interpreter in the person of Mr. Methley. The first meeting was held at Rorke's drift on the Buffalo river on the 12th of March.

To conduct the case on the part of the Transvaal, Messrs. Henrique C. Shepstone, Gerhard M. Rudolph, and Pieter Lavras Uys were appointed, and Ketshwayo sent to conduct the case for the Zulus four men possessing his confidence named Mundulu, Gebula, Sirayo, and Sintwangu. The commission was engaged taking evidence from the 12th of March to the 13th of April, and on the 20th of June sent in its report.

Meantime Ketshwayo had not waited for its decision, but was occupying portions of the territory in dispute. He was also showing such hostility towards mission work in his country, by causing converts to Christianity to be put to death and by encouraging his indunas to worry the missionaries, that they, seeing no possibility of being able to carry on their work, and fearing for their lives, thought it best to abandon their stations and retire to Natal.

The Hanoverian mission was founded in Zululand in 1858, and at this time had five stations, which were abandoned. The Norwegian mission dated from 1851, and in 1878 had nine stations, among them the celebrated one at Etshowe, where the reverend O. C. Oftebro had long laboured. Etshowe was abandoned on the 18th of April, and the others a week or two later. Both these societies were Lutheran in creed.

On the 28th of July 1878 two parties of Zulus under the leadership of Methlokazulu, Inkumbikazulu, and Tskekwana, sons of the chief Sirayo, and Zuluhlenga, Sirayo's brother, crossed the Buffalo river near Rorke's drift in search of two fugitive wives of Sirayo, who were found in huts on the Natal side. The women were seized, despite the protests of the border guard, and were taken over to the northern bank of the stream, where they were murdered. On the 16th of August Sir Henry Bulwer sent a message to Ketshwayo, asking that the leaders of the raiding parties should be given up for trial in Natal. To this message a reply was received that the acts of Sirayo's sons were the rash acts of boys, and a fine of £50 was tendered, but the raiders were not surrendered.

In September two large Zulu regiments under the command of Dabulamanzi, a half-brother of Ketshwayo, paraded on the northern bank of the lower Tugela, and when the chief was asked what the object of massing troops on the border was, he replied that they were there

for hunting purposes, though there was no game in that part of the country. Naturally this caused much alarm. Every soldier that could be spared from the Cape Colony was at once sent to Natal, and troops were stationed at Greytown and Verulam.

Ketshwayo's pretensions were constantly growing. In September 1878 he laid claim to the land north of the Pongolo that had been for many years in the undisputed possession of the Transvaal republic. In 1869 a number of Germans had purchased farms there, and had formed a settlement which they named Luneburg. Being steady and industrious they had prospered, and all went well with them until July 1878, when Ketshwayo sent a party of Zulus to build a kraal on their ground. Then Umbelini made a raid into the district, and nearly all the Dutch-speaking farmers in their neighbourhood thought it best to move away. On the 24th of September they wrote to Sir Bartle Frere, begging for protection, and a company of soldiers was sent to Luneburg to defend them. There were then forty-nine families of Germans in the locality.

Sir Bartle Frere and Lord Chelmsford repeatedly urged the ministers in England to send out military reinforcements, as it was hardly possible to avoid war with the Zulus, and on the 21st of November Sir Michael Hicks Beach announced that the troops asked for would be supplied, "not to furnish means for a campaign of invasion and conquest, but to afford such protection as might be necessary at this juncture to the lives and property of the colonists." The ninety-ninth regiment, the second battalion of the fourth regiment, two companies of engineers, and drafts for the thirteenth, twenty-fourth, and eighty-eighth regiments were accordingly despatched, and early in January 1879 arrived in South Africa.

The gloomy condition of the Transvaal at this time is reflected in the local newspapers, even in the *Transvaal Argus*, which was the government organ. The *Volkstem*,

which represented the views of at least nine-tenths of the inhabitants, might have been published with a mourning border, so dark were the pictures it drew of what was transpiring in the country. The *Goldfields Mercury*, known in earlier days as the ablest advocate of British rule, the organ of the mining community and of the English and German residents in the villages, in April 1878 ceased to appear, sorrowfully regretting in its last issue that the policy it favoured had not been a success.

The return of Messrs. Kruger and Joubert from England with a report that their mission had been unsuccessful added to the general feeling of despondency, and strengthened the resolution of the farmers to continue in an attitude of passive resistance and not to coöperate in any way whatever with the new authorities. The only indication of any change for the better having been brought about by the annexation was in the increased value of land in certain localities, caused by an influx of English traders and speculators, including a few farmers. British capital, though to a small amount, was introduced, and men of the commercial class began to express an opinion that this of itself justified the annexation, if it could not be defended on other grounds.

Sir T. Shepstone had promised that representative institutions would be conferred upon the country, but this had not been done, and indeed could not be, because every one in England as well as in South Africa knew perfectly well that the first act of an elected assembly would be a resolution in favour of independence. And so on the eve of the greatest struggle between white men and black men that South Africa had ever seen, the farmers of the Transvaal, bitterly resenting their being placed under an autocratic government, sullenly looked on and abstained from taking any part in a matter that was really to them one of supreme importance.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE ZULU POWER.

MUCH has been written and said to indicate that war with the Zulus was unjustifiable on the part of the British authorities in South Africa, that difficulties greater than those caused by Ketshwayo are frequently settled with states in other parts of the world without recourse to the arbitrament of the sword, that the Dutch-speaking people of the Transvaal believed it was unrighteous, as with very few exceptions they declined to take part in it, and that it was forced on by arbitrary and hostile acts on the European side. The official documents of course give a very different view of the matter.

Put, for instance, side by side the despatches of Sir Bartle Frere and the *History of the Zulu War and its Origin* by Miss Frances Ellen Colenso and Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Durnford—a book written with great care and knowledge of the subject, but with a strong bias in favour of Ketshwayo and antipathy to the Transvaal farmers,—together with Miss Colenso's *The Ruin of Zululand: an Account of British Doings in Zululand since the Invasion of 1879*, and it will at once be seen that they cannot be made to agree. Their spirit is entirely different. Further research then becomes imperative, for official documents, though indispensable in writing history, cannot always be implicitly relied on, and usually need supplementing. In this instance too those published in the imperial bluebooks are so mixed with other papers as to make it difficult to follow them, and the Zulu names are so misspelt that in some instances it is almost

impossible to identify them. Indeed, one might easily be led to believe that they were published as they stand purposely to prevent correct information being obtained from them.*

Any one who views the matter from both sides will hardly deny that while a highly trained Zulu army of forty or fifty thousand men, always ready to move at an hour's notice, was maintained within easy striking distance, there could be no security for life or property in either Natal or the Transvaal, and anything like the progress of other British colonies was impossible for them. Ketswayo may have had a perfect legal right to do as he chose in his own country, to maintain a huge army in a territory nearly enclosed by British possessions; but he cannot have had a moral right to be a perpetual menace to others. It is true that he had not the military genius of his uncle Tshaka, nor the lust for blood of that ruthless exterminator of the tribes far and near, but dependent as he was for his position upon an army always clamouring to be allowed to show its prowess, to "wash its spears" in its own phraseology, he could have been compelled at any time, even against his own inclination, to make war upon one or other of his neighbours. He was an exceedingly able man for a barbarian, and according to Bantu opinion was merciful and benevolent, but he had only a barbarian's idea of the sanctity of his

* In the *History of the Zulu War* by the honourable A. Wilmot, F.R.G.S., an account opposed in sentiment to that of Miss Colenso will be found, and in Charles L. Norris-Newman's *In Zululand with the British throughout the War of 1879* a narrative of events from the pen of an eyewitness is obtained. Fleet Surgeon Henry F. Norbury's *The Naval Brigade in South Africa during the Years 1877-78-79* is of high importance. Its author was one of those beleaguered in Etshowe, where he was the principal medical officer, and for occurrences there at that time he is the only authority. Captain Henry Hallam Parr's *Sketch of the Kafir and Zulu Wars, Guadana to Isandhlwana*, ends with the great disaster. He was with Lord Chelmsford during the day, and passed the night on the field of slaughter.

word, and consequently he could not be dealt with in exactly the same way as a civilised ruler. As for the abstention of the Dutch-speaking people of the Transvaal from taking part in the war, the reason for their acting in this manner had nothing to do with its justice or injustice: to them it was simply not their war, but one made by a government which they wished to be independent of. And as to arbitrary and hostile acts, as much, or nearly as much, forbearance was shown as was consistent with a determination to destroy a permanent danger.

On the 18th of September 1878 Sir Bartle Frere left Capetown in the steamer *Courland*, and landed at Durban on the 26th. The report of the boundary commission had been delivered to Sir Henry Bulwer on the 20th of June, but on reading the evidence on which it professed to be based, the decision appeared to the high commissioner to be extremely partial. Much of the evidence in favour of the Transvaal was rejected, as it seemed to him, on insufficient grounds, some documents because they were written in correct Dutch—the commissioners not being aware that all documents of an official nature were supposed to be in proper Dutch,—and others because they did not meet the full requirements of Roman-Dutch law. The report was in consequence so favourable to the Zulus that it recommended as a boundary the Blood river from its confluence with the Buffalo upward to its main source in the Magidela mountains, and thence in a direct line to the round hill between the two main sources of the Pongolo river in the Drakensberg.

The high commissioner did not feel justified in acting upon this report without further enquiry, and it was sent to Sir Theophilus Shepstone, with a request that he would give his opinion upon it. He criticised it very severely, and pointed out its partiality to the Zulus in much stronger language than Sir Bartle Frere had used

in his memorandum. Mr. Henrique C. Shepstone also commented very unfavourably upon it.

On his arrival in Natal the high commissioner, who had come to the conclusion that he must adopt the report though he could not agree with it, immediately realised that there were other matters in connexion with the Zulus of even greater importance than the settlement of their western boundary line. The colonists were almost in a panic owing to the presence of the division of the Zulu army under Dabulamanzi on their border, and its absurd excuse for making a demonstration there. The first thing to be done, and that without a moment's delay, was to put the colony in the best possible condition for defence.

As soon as it could be done, the following military arrangements were carried out. The second battalion of the third regiment, with two field guns, was stationed at a position within an easy march of the right bank of the lower Tugela, where earthworks named Fort Pearson were constructed to command the passage of the river, the second battalion of the twenty-fourth, with six field guns, was stationed at Greytown, the ninetieth, with four field guns, was kept at Utrecht, the first battalion of the thirteenth, with two field guns, was sent to Middelburg and Derby, and seven companies of the first battalion of the twenty-fourth were stationed at Helpmakaar, the other company being at Port St. John's. Commodore Sullivan was requested to give all the assistance that he could, and on the 19th of November one hundred and seventy-two officers and men of the *Active* were landed at Durban under command of Captain H. Fletcher Campbell, and marched without delay to Fort Pearson, which they reached on the 24th. They took with them two rocket tubes, a gatling, and two other field guns. A party of three officers and fifty-eight men from the *Tenedos* followed on the 1st of January 1879. Four hundred Natal mounted volunteers and the mounted

police, one hundred and twenty-five in number, were called out to act as cavalry, and seven thousand and seventy Natal blacks were enrolled in seven battalions with six hundred and sixty-five European commissioned and non-commissioned officers obtained in the Cape Colony, mostly men who had served during the recent rebellion. Nineteen hundred and sixty-five Natal blacks were also enrolled to serve various purposes, many of them being mounted. The frontier light horse, under Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Buller, was enlarged by means of recruits obtained in the eastern districts of the Cape Colony, and two hundred and eight men were obtained from the diamond fields to fill the vacancies caused by others leaving whose term of service had expired.

These military arrangements could not escape the notice of Ketswayo, and his army too was placed in readiness for immediate action.

When the preparations were completed, a request was forwarded to the Zulu chief to send delegates to the lower Tugela drift to receive the decision regarding the disputed boundary with the Transvaal and a message from the high commissioner on other matters. On the morning of the 11th of December 1878 the Zulu delegates crossed to the Natal side of the Tugela at the place indicated, and were received under an awning by the officials deputed to deliver the decisions. These officials were Mr. John Wesley Shepstone, secretary for native affairs in Natal, Mr. Charles Brownlee, commissioner for native affairs in the Cape Colony, Mr. Henry Francis Fynn, resident magistrate of the Umsinga division in Natal, and Lieutenant-Colonel Forestier Walker, of the Scots guards. There were also a number of other gentlemen present, but not in an official capacity, and several Bantu chiefs residing in Natal were there out of curiosity. There were three principal and eleven subordinate Zulu envoys, who were accompanied by forty or fifty attendants. With them was the

Englishman John Dunn, one of Ketshwayo's chieftains, but who came only as a spectator.

The decision concerning the boundary given by Sir Henry Bulwer in the name of the high commissioner was first read in English, and then in Zulu by Mr. Fynney, the interpreter. It was that the line should be from the junction of the Buffalo and Blood rivers along the Blood river to its principal source in the Magidela mountains, and thence direct to the round hill between the two main sources of the Pongolo river in the Drakensberg, thus assigning to the Zulus land that had been in possession of white men for sixteen years. Of course it was the unoccupied portion in full possession and only the sovereignty over the remainder that was transferred, as it was intended that the rights of individuals to private property should remain undisturbed, so that those farmers whose titles were good and who might not choose to remain on their ground as subjects of Ketshwayo should receive ample compensation from him before they left.

So far the award was in favour of the Zulus, but it was added that in the territory thus assigned to them the old hunting road and the road between Utrecht and Luneburg were to remain open, that is free for use by white people as well as black, and that Zulu sovereignty did not extend beyond the Pongolo river. Copies of the award were given in both languages to the Zulu envoys. They did not seem dissatisfied on not getting the Drakensberg as their boundary, though one of them, Gebula, remarked that all the waters running eastward belonged to them, and that they had also territory north of the Pongolo.

The proceedings were then adjourned until the afternoon, when the parties met again, and the most important business of the day was transacted by the following demands upon Ketshwayo being made in the name of the high commissioner:

That Methlokazulu, Inkumbikazulu, and Tshekwana, sons of Sirayo, and Zuluhlenga, Sirayo's brother, who had seized two women on Natal soil, taken them across the Buffalo river, and murdered them, should be surrendered for trial within twenty days, and that a fine of five hundred head of cattle should be paid within the same time in consideration of their not having been surrendered when Sir Henry Bulwer first sent to ask for them.

That a fine of one hundred head of cattle should be paid for interference with two white men by a party of fifteen Zulus at Middle Drift on the Tugela.

That the marauder Umbelini should be surrendered to be tried and punished for his crimes.

That the Zulu military system should be done away with, and the army be disbanded, every man being left free to marry whenever he chose.

That every Zulu accused of crime should be properly tried before being punished, and that no one should be put to death before being allowed to appeal to the head of the nation. (This was a promise made by Ketshwayo when he was inducted as ruler by Mr. T. Shepstone, but there is much diversity of opinion as to whether it was subsequently observed or not. The number of individuals put to death under Ketshwayo's government on charges of dealing in witchcraft is also a disputed matter, but even taking the highest estimate as correct, it was very small indeed when compared with the butcheries of Dingana).

That the missionaries should be permitted to return to Zululand and resume their labours.

And that a British resident should be stationed in Zululand.

A reply to these demands was required within thirty days.

Practically this was equivalent to a declaration of war, for it could hardly be supposed that Ketshwayo would

agree to such terms. Certainly the Zulu envoys to whom the ultimatum was delivered did not, for their consternation on hearing it was visible—despite the command they had over their countenances,—and their remarks upon it were significant.

And yet what less could Sir Bartle Frere have demanded, if the safety of Natal and the Transvaal was to be secured without the permanent retention of a powerful imperial military force in South Africa? The disbandment of his army meant the reduction of Ketshwayo to the position of an ordinary Bantu chief, and to this he could not be expected to consent, but it was a necessity for his European neighbours. The question was simply whether civilisation or barbarism was to prevail in the country. Good government, at any rate to a certain extent, was necessary also to prevent the flight of people constantly into the British possessions. It was not supposed that in a country without prisons the death penalty would be as rarely inflicted as in a civilised state, but if individuals were protected from slaughter without first undergoing trial, there would be some little security for life.

Even at this time the Zulu power was greatly underrated by the military officers. It was known to be far more formidable than that of any other Bantu community in South Africa, yet it was supposed that six or eight British battalions with the available local forces would be able to compete with it. A few hundred Dutch farmers, it was said, had overthrown Dingana, surely it would not be much more difficult to deal with Ketshwayo, even if many of his soldiers were armed with European weapons. It was supposed too that the tribe would be divided, and a portion of it be at least neutral, if it did not actually take part with the Europeans. It was forgotten that foreign war frequently welds a people together, that internal discord disappears when national feeling is strongly excited.

The only notice taken by Ketshwayo of the communications delivered to his envoys was a request for more time sent by John Dunn, so on the 4th of January 1879 the high commissioner placed the enforcement of his demands that were to be complied with before the expiration of twenty days in the hands of Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, the commander of the British forces in South Africa.

The authorities in England were opposed to war with the Zulus, if it could by any possibility be avoided, and Sir Bartle Frere had not referred the terms of his ultimatum to them for decision before making his demands upon Ketshwayo, nor did he wait for their approval before commencing hostilities. There were two strong reasons for thus acting with haste. The first was that as it was then the rainy season, the Buffalo and Tugela rivers were in flood and formed a line of defence for Natal, whereas if hostilities were postponed to the dry season they could be forded almost anywhere by a Zulu invading army. The second was that the Zulus were then short of food, and it would be imprudent to wait until the maize in their gardens was ripe.

The only Zulus who had abandoned the cause of their tribe before this time were those under John Dunn. When war became certain, Dunn informed the British general that he wished to remain neutral, but upon receiving a reply that such a position was impossible, he made up his mind to be on the side that was sure to win. His kraals were opposite Fort Pearson on the other side of the Tugela. His people were obedient to him, and on the 31st of December they began to be ferried over to the Natal side. There the men were required to surrender their firearms, and were then sent to a suitable place to remain till the war was ended. They took their cattle with them, and also a supply of maize, so that they cost the Natal government nothing for their maintenance. With the women and children

Dunn's Zulus numbered several thousand souls, over whom he had acquired absolute control. He dressed as a European, and in other respects lived in a semi-civilised manner, but had numerous wives and female companions after the manner of a Bantu chief, and ruled his people according to Bantu law. He was not regarded by Ketshwayo as a military induna, but as a semi-independent vassal like Umbelini and some others.

The plan of operations decided upon by Lord Chelmsford was to invade Zululand with four separate columns moving from as many different points, driving the enemy before them, and meeting at Ulundi, where he anticipated a stand would be made, which would enable him to strike a decisive blow.

The first column, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson, consisted of seven hundred and eighty-three men of the second battalion of the third Buffs, under Lieutenant-Colonel Parnell, five hundred and eighty men of the ninety-ninth, under Lieutenant-Colonel Welman, one hundred and seventy-two men of the ship *Active*, with three gatling guns, under Captain Campbell, one hundred and ninety mounted infantry, under Captain Barrow, one hundred and eighty-four Natal mounted volunteers, one hundred and four royal engineers, under Captain Wynne, thirty artillerymen, under Lieutenant Lloyd, with two seven-pounder guns, two battalions of Natal blacks, together two thousand two hundred and forty men, under Major Graves and Commandant Nettleton, and one hundred and two Natal Bantu pioneers, under Captain Beddoes. A pontoon was placed on the Tugela, and on the 10th of January the troops commenced to cross the river. By the 15th all were over, the passage being unopposed, and a camp was formed on the Zulu side.

The following notification was made as widely known as possible, but could not be communicated to many Zulus, to none of the regiments indeed, for they were

already mustering at Ulundi, Ketshwayo's residence, to receive orders as to their movements:—

“11 January 1879.

“The British forces are crossing into Zululand to exact from Ketshwayo reparation for violations of British territory committed by the sons of Sirayo and others, and to enforce compliance with the promises made by Ketshwayo at his coronation for the better government of his people.

“The British government has no quarrel with the Zulu people. All Zulus who come in unarmed, or who lay down their arms, will be provided for till the troubles of their country are over, and will then, if they please, be allowed to return to their own land; but all who do not so submit will be dealt with as enemies.

“When the war is finished, the British government will make the best arrangements in its power for the future good government of the Zulus in their own country, in peace and quietness, and will not permit the killing and oppression they have suffered from Ketshwayo to continue.

“H. B. E. FRERE, High Commissioner.”

The column left a small garrison in Fort Pearson, which was to be the base of supplies, and constructed an earthwork named Fort Tenedos on the northern bank of the river, where the men belonging to the ship of that name were left when in the morning of the 18th the main body moved on. It was accompanied by a long train of ox-waggons, conveying tents and camp equipage, provisions, ammunition, hospital stores, and other articles that might be needed.

On the 21st the military kraal at Ginginhlovu was burnt without resistance, the regiment usually quartered there being absent at the time.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 22nd, when halting for breakfast on the high ground beyond the Inyezane river, the head of the column was suddenly attacked by a Zulu army about five thousand strong, and a sharp action, which lasted an hour and a half, took place.

The Zulus were armed with good rifles, but their fire was very ineffective, and they were unable to get to close quarters, where they could have used their stabbing assagais. When they retired they left over three hundred of their number dead on the ground, but they had killed nine white men and wounded fifteen others.

On the following morning at ten o'clock, after a march of thirty-seven miles or fifty-nine kilometres from Fort Tenedos, the column reached the abandoned Norwegian mission station Etshowe, and formed a camp, where on the 26th it received information that another division of the British forces had met with a terrible disaster, so that further advance was impossible.

On the 21st of January eighty waggons laden with biscuit, tinned provisions, and maize for the horses left Fort Tenedos, escorted by three companies of the ninety-ninth regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Ely, to increase Colonel Pearson's stores. On the way it was necessary to abandon eight waggons which stuck fast in the mud, and which were shortly afterwards pillaged by the enemy, but with the remainder of the convoy Colonel Ely arrived at Etshowe on the 29th.

Colonel Pearson then sent most of the black auxiliaries with him, the cavalry, the waggon drivers, and as many of the ninety-ninth as he could spare back to the forts on the Tugela, in order to economise his supply of food, and that they might assist to protect Natal from invasion.

Of the oxen that had drawn the waggons, those in the best condition were retained for slaughter purposes, and the others, six hundred and fifty in number, were driven towards Natal, but were captured by Zulus on the way. The blacks with them made their escape, and most of them reached the Tugela safely, those who did not flee in that direction managing to get back to Etshowe.

There were now left under Colonel Pearson's command one thousand three hundred and ninety-seven Europeans

and four hundred and sixty-one blacks. The mission premises were found intact, and consisted of a church, which was turned into a hospital, a dwelling house, and a large school building, which were converted into commissariat stores. The verandah of the dwelling house became the quarters of the officers of the naval brigade. The waggons were drawn up in a hollow square enclosing these buildings, and were covered with tarpaulins, under which the garrison slept. Outside of all a moat three metres wide and two metres deep was dug, the earth and clay taken out being made into a broad flat-topped bank with a parapet, so that the position could not be stormed by the Zulus.

There was a tower to the mission church, which formed an excellent look-out station, and after a time communication with Natal was opened from the top of a high hill not far off by means of flash signals. Though parties of Zulus frequently hovered around, and kept the garrison on the alert, Colonel Pearson held this position until the arrival of reinforcements in Natal enabled Lord Chelmsford again to take the field.

The second column consisted of three battalions of Natal blacks on foot and five troops of Batlokua mounted, with a rocket battery worked by Europeans, and was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Durnford, of the royal engineers. It was stationed at first at Middle Drift on the Tugela, but a little later Colonel Durnford with the cavalry and the rocket battery was required to act elsewhere, as will presently be related.

The third column was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Glynn, and consisted of seven hundred men of the first battalion of the twenty-fourth regiment, eight hundred men of the second battalion of the same regiment, two hundred Natal volunteers, one hundred and fifty Natal mounted police, a squadron of mounted infantry, some artillerymen with six seven-pounder guns, a company of royal engineers, a company of Natal Bantu pioneers, and

two battalions of Natal blacks under Commandant Rupert Latrobe Lonsdale. Lord Chelmsford with his staff accompanied this column, which crossed the Buffalo at Rorke's drift on the 11th of January, and formed a temporary camp on the northern bank.

There were no roads in the country beyond, and very heavy rains had fallen, so that the valleys and flats were all like swamps. Every possible exertion was made to construct a passable roadway, but the ox-waggons accompanying the column, over a hundred in number, could not advance until the 20th of the month, when the column marched to a locality selected for a halt, ten English miles or sixteen kilometres from the place of starting. It was at the foot of a prominent hill or crag, called by the Zulus Isandhlwana, which means the little hand. Meantime the kraal of the chief Sirayo, which was only six kilometres and a half from Rorke's drift, was taken and burnt by an advance party, after an engagement in which some thirty Zulus were killed, though only three Natal blacks fell and one soldier was wounded. The cause of this inequality of casualties was the bad firing of the Zulus. Thirteen horses, four hundred and thirteen head of horned cattle, and five hundred and sixty-seven sheep and goats were secured as booty at Sirayo's kraal.

At Isandhlwana a camp was formed, that is tents were pitched, but there was no entrenching of any kind, and the waggons were not even drawn together to form a lager. The general had been strongly advised by Mr. Paul Kruger to be very careful always to form lagers when halting on a march, and to keep scouts constantly in all directions.* This counsel was received with pleasantry, with

* This is the only mention of a warning given to Lord Chelmsford to be found in the imperial bluebooks, but at least one other South African farmer gave similar advice. In a narrative of the dealings of the Uys family with the Zulus published in the *Friend of the Free State*, Mr. J. J. Uys wrote: "On the 16th of January 1879 I was in the camp of General Thesiger at Rorke's Drift. The General

the kind of feeling that made Cervantes' duchess find amusement in the remarks of Sancho Panza. It was so comical that an unlettered boer should advise a British officer of high rank on a military matter. But one of the greatest tragedies in South African history, the tragedy of Isandhlwana, would not have been enacted if that advice had been taken.

As soon as the column crossed the Buffalo, swift runners who had been watching its movements conveyed the tidings to Ulundi, and the Umbonambi, Umcityu, Undi, Nokenke, and Ngobamakosi corps, containing regiments which were the very flower of the Zulu army, were selected by Ketshwayo to oppose it. These corps when in full strength mustered over thirty thousand men, but a very careful weeding out now took place, and only about twenty-three or twenty-four thousand of the fittest were retained. Two smaller armies, each of about five thousand men, were at the same time sent against the columns under Colonels Pearson and Wood, and the remainder of the Zulu forces were retained close to Ulundi, as it was believed that an attack might be made either from Delagoa Bay or from some part of the coast where soldiers could be landed from ships. The largest of the Zulu armies, which was directed to destroy Lord Chelmsford's column, marched at once, and moving without any encumbrances, during the night of the 21st January occupied the ravines behind a ridge of hills, the nearest of which was about

was very kind to us. He saw that our horses were offsaddled, and we breakfasted with him. I said to the General: 'Be on your guard and be careful. I have knowledge of the deceit and treachery of the Zulu nation. Trek into Zululand with two lagers close to each other. Place your spies far out, and form your waggons into a round lager. The Zulus are more dangerous than you think. I lost my father and my brother through them, because we held them too cheaply. Afterwards we went with Andries Pretorius, but then we were careful, and always closed our waggons well up, sent our spies far out, and we beat the Zulus.' The General smiled and said that he thought it was not necessary."

a mile and a half or a little over two kilometres from the British camp, where it lay concealed for hours without a single scout observing it.

In the morning of the 21st most of the Natal volunteers and mounted police under Major Dartnell, with the larger part of Lonsdale's two battalions of Natal blacks under Commandants Browne and Cooper, were sent on to a hill fifteen or sixteen kilometres in advance, to inspect the country, and if possible to attack the kraal of the chief Matshana. Two companies of each of these battalions were left at the camp. In the evening Major Dartnell sent back word that there were many Zulus in his neighbourhood, that the patrol would bivouac for the night where it then was, and that reinforcements were needed to enable him to attack the enemy. At two o'clock the next morning, Wednesday, the 22nd of January 1879, Lord Chelmsford gave instructions that a body of troops should be ready to march as soon as it was light enough to see the way, and at the same time sent a message to Colonel Durnford, who had been moved up from Middle Drift to the north bank of the Buffalo river at Rorke's drift, with his mounted men and rocket battery to advance at once to Isandhlwana, and take command of the camp there. Colonel Durnford carried out these instructions, and arrived at Isandhlwana about ten o'clock or a few minutes later.

At early dawn Lord Chelmsford himself with his staff accompanied the troops that went out to assist those in advance, consisting of six companies of the second twenty-fourth under Colonel Glynn, the mounted infantry, most of the artillerymen with four of the field guns, and the Natal Bantu pioneers. Lieutenant-Colonel Pulleine, of the first twenty-fourth, was left in command of the camp until Colonel Durnford should arrive, with instructions to draw in his infantry pickets and defend it if it should be attacked.

At about half past six Lord Chelmsford's party came in sight of a body of Zulus, who apparently fell back, and did not even attempt to make a stand in strong positions where it might have caused trouble. It was followed for three hours, and then it suddenly disappeared, having completed its task, which was to draw the British force to a distance from the camp.

The Zulu army which was lying in wait did not intend to attack so soon, but a portion of the Umcityu corps happened to be seen by a picket about half past nine in the morning, when the whole corps, believing its position was discovered, suddenly showed itself. The picket fell back, but when Colonel Durnford arrived a little later, he advanced with his mounted men to meet the Zulus, and a sharp action followed. Whether he should not have remained at the camp, taken measures for its protection, and acted entirely on the defensive has been questioned. The general maintained afterwards that his instructions were to that effect, and had been disobeyed, but certainly Lord Chelmsford had done nothing himself to protect the camp before he left it, had not even caused a waggon barricade to be formed. Companies of infantry and guns were sent out to Colonel Durnford's support, and many hundreds of the enemy were killed, but they seemed to be regardless of death, and kept pressing on in order to come to close combat, when they could use their stabbing spears, as they soon realised that the fire from their rifles was doing very little harm. The troops were obliged to fall back towards the camp, but did so in good order, and kept up their fire as long as their ammunition lasted.

The left wing of the Zulu army was now extended to enclose the British force on one side, while a horn from the right wing was thrown out rapidly back of the hill to complete the circle. The black troops, on seeing this, became panic-stricken, and tried to flee, leaving vacant places between parties of Europeans, into which

the Zulus pressed. A hand to hand fight followed, in which great numbers of the enemy fell, but which ended in the death of every white man who was not mounted on a horse. Companies of soldiers stood at bay and fought desperately till their ammunition was expended, when they tried to defend themselves with their bayonets, but in vain, for the Zulus could then make use of their rifles. The position of the bodies when Isandhlwana was visited and carefully inspected nearly four months later showed that the troops and the volunteers stood together in parties and died as became brave men. The last to fall was a company of the twenty-fourth, who managed to get to a position high up on the hill side, where they could not be surrounded, and where they stood facing their foe till their cartridges were spent and they could do no more. The Zulus gave no quarter.

There was but one path of escape, along a narrow steep-sided gully, with Zulus lining both banks, and into it the horsemen plunged. But it was crowded with black fugitives, and the Zulus poured into it, using their spears with terrible effect. The pursuit was continued all the way to the Buffalo river, which was reached about eight kilometres below Rorke's drift, and was even continued to the southern bank, some of the fugitives being killed in the stream, while others were drowned when trying to cross. Among those who reached Natal was Lieutenant Teignmouth Melvill, of the first twenty-fourth, who was trying to save the colours of his regiment. He lost his horse and the colours in the river, and would have been drowned, had not Lieutenant Nevill Coghill, who had reached the southern bank, plunged in again and rescued him. But they had only got a short distance from the bank when they were overtaken by Zulus, and both were killed, though not without selling their lives dearly as was ascertained from the number of black corpses that lay beside them. The colours, that had slipped from Lieutenant Melvill's grasp when he was struggling in

the water, were found ten days later in the river, and were restored to the remnant of the regiment.

Only about forty Europeans escaped of all that were encamped at Isandhlwana that morning. The army lists giving the names of those who perished make the number to be fifty officers and seven hundred and seventy-six non-commissioned officers and rank and file, composed of two officers and sixty-one men of the royal artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel Durnford, two other officers, and four men of the royal engineers, Lieutenant-Colonel Pulleine, fifteen other officers, and four hundred and five men of the first battalion of the twenty-fourth regiment, six officers and one hundred and sixty-eight men of the second battalion of the twenty-fourth regiment, three men of the army service corps, one officer and ten men of the army hospital corps, one officer and one man of the army medical department, thirteen men of the mounted infantry, twenty-six men of the Natal mounted police, two officers and twenty men of the Natal carbineers, two officers and five men of the Newcastle mounted rifles, three men of the Buffalo border guard, and seventeen commissioned and fifty-seven non-commissioned officers of the Bantu contingent.

But these were not the only white men who perished. There were at Isandhlwana many European waggon drivers and camp followers of various descriptions, whose names were not on the army rolls, and whose number there were no means of ascertaining. Not one of them escaped. About eight hundred Bantu connected with the various contingents also lost their lives, but some of the black horsemen and of the fleetest of the footmen managed to get away.

Much of the booty that could not be easily removed was destroyed by the Zulus, but they gathered spoil in oxen, military stores, rifles, and ammunition that was of great value to them. They destroyed the rocket tubes, but did not attempt to remove the two field guns that

fell into their hands. With as much of the spoil as could be carried away the greater part of the Zulu army left Isandhlwana before sunset to report to Ketshwayo at Ulundi what had been done, and actually passed Lord Chelmsford on the way without being perceived.

The loss of life by the Zulus at Isandhlwana was enormous, amounting according to the most careful estimates to fully three thousand five hundred men, or one out of every six engaged. Some of the regiments had suffered so severely that their officers were afraid to appear before Ketshwayo, and instead of returning to Ulundi marched to their respective kraals. They had killed those of their own wounded who were mortally injured, and carried off the others with them. It was some time before the chief came to learn the extent of his losses, and when at length the truth became known to him, he must have realised that a few more such victories as that at Isandhlwana would ruin him. It was this, more than anything else, that deterred him from attempting to invade Natal.

A little after ten o'clock in the morning of the 22nd a communication from Lieutenant-Colonel Pulleine was received by Lord Chelmsford that a body of Zulus was close to the camp, but no one attached any importance to the message, as all interest was centred in the party the detachment thought it was pursuing. It was the appearance of the Umcityu corps that was reported, and perhaps if the detachment had returned at once, the great disaster might have been averted. But no one either at Isandhlwana or on the march to Matshana's kraal then imagined that the Umcityu was only a section of a large army lying concealed in the hills, and as Colonel Pulleine did not say he needed help, no one thought he might require it. Instructions were sent to him to forward the equipage and stores of the advance party, which would form a camp where it was, but when these orders reached

him he was so hard pressed by the enemy that he could not attempt to carry them out.

Three hours later while the general was selecting a place to bivouac for the night about seventeen or eighteen kilometres from Isandhlwana, the sound of heavy firing was heard by some sharp ears, but not much attention was paid to it at the time, though at two o'clock in the afternoon Lord Chelmsford, taking with him forty mounted volunteers, rode back towards the camp to obtain a view of it from an elevated spot. The air was clear, and though warm, not so intensely hot as to cause objects at a distance to quiver, yet nothing alarming was seen through the field glasses, and the only thing noticeable by any of the observers was that one of them thought that the oxen had been driven in to carry out the instructions to send the camp equipage on. It is almost incredible, but what he mistook for oxen was the black mass of Zulus that had just completed the work of death.

At four o'clock a man on an almost exhausted horse rode up to Lieutenant-Colonel Crealock, the general's secretary, and gave him the terrible information that the Zulus were in possession of the camp. It was Commandant Lonsdale, who had ridden away from his regiment in pursuit of a mounted Zulu, and got so near the camp that he thought he would visit it. He was actually close to the tents before he discovered what had occurred, and barely managed to save his life by putting his horse to its utmost speed.

Orders were at once sent to Colonel Glynn, who was arranging to bivouac for the night, to hasten back to Isandhlwana with all the forces sent out on that and the preceding day, but night had already set in when the fatal place was reached. There, among the bodies of their dead comrades mixed with those of three or four times as many Zulus, in the débris of damaged waggons, bales of forage, bags of corn cut open, broken biscuit boxes, and all the other material that had been wrecked, Lord

Chelmsford and the men with him bivouacked that night. They had some food, but were almost without ammunition, and they dared not attempt to light a fire or even strike a match lest their position might be betrayed to an enemy on the watch.

To avoid the demoralisation that would be caused by such a sight as the locality must present, the general resumed the march to Rorke's drift before daylight on the 23rd, though he had very little hope that the post there was still in existence. Nothing of any importance occurred on the way, but when the station came in sight the hospital was seen to be burning, which caused the greatest dejection, as it was supposed that the post must have fallen. A little later, however, to the intense joy of every one, a soldier was seen standing on the wall of bags of maize and making signals, upon which the whole of the little garrison showed itself. Surely that sight must have been to the men retreating with Lord Chelmsford what the sight of the Euxine was to the renowned ten thousand, for if the post had been destroyed nearly all of them must have perished.

The preservation of the post at Rorke's drift was due to its having been lagered, a precaution that would have saved the force at Isandhlwana, where far better materials were at hand. The place was a mission station of the Swedish society, named Oscarberg, founded in the preceding year by the reverend Otto Witt, who purchased the farm on which it stood from Mr. James Rorke. There were two buildings on it, thirty-five metres apart, one the missionary's dwelling house and the other the school chapel and storehouse. Both were under thatched roofs. When the column advanced into Zululand, a company of soldiers was left behind at this place to guard the chapel, that had been turned into a commissariat store, and the mission house, which was used as a hospital. On the 22nd of January there were lying sick in the hospital building thirty-five men, and the garrison consisted of one

officer, Lieutenant Chard, of the royal engineers, who was in command, one officer, Lieutenant Bromhead, and eighty-one men of the second battalion of the twenty-fourth regiment, and twenty-one others, including the chaplain, the surgeon, the hospital attendants, the commissariat officials, an artilleryman, and eight soldiers of different regiments.

At about a quarter past three in the afternoon Lieutenant Chard, who was busy at the pontoon, was informed of the disaster at Isandhlwana by two horsemen who had escaped, and immediately preparations for defence were made. The walls of the buildings were loopholed, and they were connected by banks made of two waggons and bags of maize, so as to form a rectangular enclosure or lager. Across this a barricade of biscuit boxes was made, so that if one part was taken the garrison could retire to the other.

This was not completed when at half past four o'clock five or six hundred of the enemy appeared in sight, and made a rush towards the lager, but were received with such a heavy fire that they did not get nearer than fifty yards or forty-five metres. They were followed by the main body of the Tulwana regiment, belonging to the Undi corps, under Dabulamanzi, a half brother of Ketshwayo. This regiment, which had been kept in reserve at Isandhlwana and had therefore taken no active part in events there, was nearly three thousand strong, and had marched as soon as the camp was taken, in expectation of being able easily to destroy the little post on the Buffalo and open a way into Natal. Finding a walled space where they had expected to see only open ground, the Tulwana took cover on all sides of it at a distance of forty-five to three hundred and sixty metres, and kept up a hot fire, rushing upon the lager whenever they thought they had a chance of taking it. They were at least thirty to one of the gallant men within that frail enclosure, and they were reckless of their losses, but so firm was

the resistance that whenever any of them reached the walls of maize they were driven back by thrusts of the bayonet.

About six o'clock they managed to set fire to the roof of the hospital, and then four or five soldiers laid down their rifles for a few minutes and carried most of the sick to the commissariat building at the other end of the enclosure. It was impossible to save them all. The garrison then retired behind the rampart of biscuit boxes, where another defensive line of bags of maize was hastily made, and held out there, the burning hospital giving them sufficient light, until four o'clock in the morning of the 23rd, when Dabulamanzi found it necessary to retire and rest, as his men were worn out. They had been either standing at attention, marching, or fighting without food constantly for nearly twenty hours. Three hours later a large number of them appeared again, but before they could renew the attack the column under Lord Chelmsford appeared in sight, and the post, so heroically held during that memorable night, was saved. Including a few of the sick whom it was impossible to rescue, seventeen white men lost their lives in the defence, and ten others were wounded. About three hundred and fifty dead Zulus were lying on the ground about the post: the number of their wounded cannot be given, as they were carried away by their companions.

The Bantu of Lonsdale's regiment and most of those who had formed the column under Colonel Durnford now dispersed to their homes, as they did not care to remain on duty on what they believed to be the losing side. The Natal colonists were panic-stricken, fearing that at any hour an overpowering Zulu force would cross the boundary, and would very likely be joined by most of the black men they were living among. The mail steamer was to have called at Saint Helena on her homeward passage, but she was directed to make all speed direct to Saint Vincent, where she would be in telegraphic communication with

England, and to send a message from Lord Chelmsford to the war office, urgently asking for three battalions of infantry and two of cavalry to be sent as quickly as possible as a reinforcement to the army under his command.

As measures of defence barricades were constructed in Durban, Stanger, Maritzburg, and Greytown, and arrangements were made for the inhabitants to take shelter within them on the shortest notice. All the troops and volunteers that could be collected together and spared from guarding the stores at Helpmakaar and Fort Pearson were stationed at these places as garrisons. In other localities the people went into lager, and the passenger steamers from Durban to the Cape Colony were crowded with women and children sent away temporarily for safety.

So absorbed was every one in the defence of Natal that for nearly two months none of the relatives or friends of those who had fallen at Isandhlwana were able to visit that locality to ascertain whether the bodies of the slain had been disturbed or not. At last, on the 15th of March, Major Black, of the twenty-fourth, with a small body of well-mounted men, made a dash in from Rorke's drift, and was able to inspect the remains of the dead. The bodies had been partly stripped, but had not been mutilated, except that a gash had been made in the abdomen of each to prevent its swelling, the Zulus believing that if this was not done their own bodies would expand simultaneously with those of their victims. Many were still recognisable by their features, and others by the clothing left upon them. Those lying on the site of the camp were partly concealed by the oats and maize that had sprung up from seed thickly strewn on the ground sodden with their blood. The party had no means of interring any of the bodies, and could only make notes of what they saw.

About a hundred waggons and carts, mostly undamaged, were still standing on the ground, but everything had

been removed from them. The Zulus had taken away their own dead, and, as was afterwards ascertained, had buried them at a distance of over three kilometres. They had also taken away the two cannon, which were next heard of as being at Ulundi. When the party was about to leave, forty or fifty Zulus made their appearance from some huts not far off, and fired a volley, but without hitting any one, and Major Black and his companions reached Natal again in safety.

Another two months had passed by when on the 21st of May Major-General Marshall with a strong party of cavalry visited Isandhlwana. The remains of Colonel Durnford were wrapped in a piece of canvas and buried in a natural hollow in the ground, and those of many others were covered with mounds of stones. The officers and men of the twenty-fourth had requested that the skeletons of their old comrades should be left undisturbed, as they wished to perform the melancholy duty of interment themselves. Their wish was respected, and it was not until the 27th of June, more than five months after the disaster, that the last of the men who lost their lives at Isandhlwana were reverently buried. Major-General Marshall had spare horses with him, and when he left, he took away thirty-nine of the waggons and carts that were uninjured.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ZULU WAR (*continued*).

THE terrible disaster at Isandhlwana brought to an end the operations conducted from Natal as a base until strong reinforcements should arrive from England, as for the time being nothing more could be thought of there than the best means of defending the colony in case of its invasion by a Zulu army. According to Lord Chelmsford's original plan two columns were also to operate from the Transvaal side, one of which, under Lieutenant-Colonel Rowlands, was to protect Luneburg and keep Umbelini in check, and the other, under Lieutenant-Colonel Evelyn Wood, was to invade Zululand from Utrecht and drive the Zulu forces onward to Ulundi, where it would unite with the columns from Natal and, it was hoped, be able to strike a decisive blow.

The fourth column, as it was called, under Colonel Wood, consisted of the ninetieth regiment of the line, the first battalion of the thirteenth regiment, the frontier light horse (formerly Carrington's horse) under Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Buller, and a company of artillerymen with six field guns, in all one thousand eight hundred and forty-three. European troops, a contingent of two hundred Natal blacks, and from fifty to sixty Transvaal farmers under Mr. Pieter Lavras Uys, a son of the commandant of the same name who lost his life in battle with the Zulus in April 1838 and a younger brother of the boy who died in such a noble manner on the same occasion. Colonel Wood had tried

to ingratiate himself with the Transvaal farmers, but was unable to induce a larger number to assist him. Even these had stipulated that their joining his force was not to be considered in any way as giving their approval to the annexation of their country by Great Britain. It was in the interest of civilisation, they said, that the Zulu power, which was a menace to all South Africa, should be broken, and therefore they were willing to fight, but they prized the independence of the Transvaal under a republican form of government as much as did their countrymen who held aloof.*

* Colonel Wood's estimate of the character of Commandant Uys and of the value of his services is shown in the following letter to Lord Chelmsford's secretary, written after the death of the commandant. That Uys admitted the necessity of the annexation "in the interests of the country at large" I think must be a mistake, as all the evidence available is to the contrary:

"Kambula Hill, *April* 13, 1879.

"Sir,—On the 30th ultimo I reported to the deputy adjutant general the death of Piet Uys, who like his brave father fell in action against the Zulus.

"His Excellency is well aware from the reports I have made from time to time of the invaluable aid this patriotic gentleman rendered not only to this column but to South Africa's highest interests. Though he was opposed to the annexation of the Transvaal, the justice of which measure he denied as regards his countrymen, yet he admitted its necessity in the interests of the country at large, and he lent all his influence in opposition to many of his oldest and dearest friends in pressing on the attention of his countrymen their duty in combating our savage and treacherous foes. He armed, mounted, equipped, and provisioned his numerous family at his own expense, bringing his two youngest children aged 15 and 13 years into the field, and whom I have seen behaving very well in action. He steadily refused any pay for himself and family, though I repeatedly urged him to take his commandant's pay at 30s. per diem, and his eldest son has since declined to take the unclaimed balance. He constantly settled claims for compensation preferred for damages done in the operations to the property of Dutchmen, and he was thoroughly just in all his decisions. When one of his own farms was injured, he abstained from reporting it, and I heard of the damage accidentally. It is impossible to render to the Uys family any adequate compensation for the

On the 6th of January the fourth column marched from Utrecht, and crossed the Blood river into Zululand according to the recent award, with the intention of attacking Sirayo's kraal from one side while Colonel Glynn's column did so from the other. But this design was frustrated by the appearance of a strong Zulu force on the front, which threatened to attack, so Colonel Wood formed a camp at a strong position named Bemba's Kop, about thirty-five miles or fifty-six kilometres from Colonel Glynn's camp at Rorke's drift.

On the 9th of January Bemba, the head of the Zulus in that neighbourhood, who was not a man of much importance, and who had long considered himself a subject of the Transvaal, surrendered and gave up his arms on a promise of being protected, when he and his people with their cattle and other property were sent to Utrecht. A much more important man was Seketwayo, who it was hoped would also submit. As he was apparently wavering, on the 13th Colonel Wood seized his cattle, but offered to restore them if he would surrender. This and the loss of one of his herdsmen caused Seketwayo to reject all overtures, and he became openly hostile.

loss of so good a father, but to mark our sense of the services of South Africa's noblest patriot I earnestly recommend—

"First. That at the conclusion of the war a block of land equivalent to 18,000 morgen or 36,000 acres be set apart to be given to his wife and remaining children in farms of 2,000 morgen each, that is to Petrus Lavras, Cornelis Lucas, Jacobus Johannes, Dirk Cornelis, Alida Maria, widow of C. J. Potgieter, with 13 children, Maria Johanna, wife of P. S. Uys, Elizabeth Helena, wife of W. H. Moolman, Johanna Susanna, wife of A. J. Moolman, and Susanna Margaretha, spinster. It would be well if this tract were set aside between the Lion's Neck, Inseka, Zinguni range, and Inhlobane mountain, the scene of many daring acts of Piet Uys.

"Secondly. That the officer commanding the district at the end of the war be instructed to verify the claim of the late Piet Uys to two farms granted under the Transvaal government for services rendered, and the certificates of which are lodged in the landdrost's office, Utrecht. "I have, &c.

(Signed) "EVELYN WOOD."

After this there was a good deal of skirmishing with little parties of the enemy, many cattle were captured, and a score or two of Zulus were killed, but there was no important action.

On the 24th of January Colonel Wood received intelligence of the disaster at Isandhlwana, which would prevent a general advance into Zululand for some time, and on the same day he was attacked by a force of three to four thousand Zulus. He was not taken by surprise, however, for the farmers with him were excellent scouts, and his camp was well protected. The enemy, when they ascertained this, made but a feeble attack, and speedily retired, leaving about fifty men dead on the ground. Colonel Wood now moved his force to Kambula Hill, a strong position a little farther in advance in the territory assigned to Zululand, with the advantage of being on the old hunting road to the north, where he entrenched his camp and prepared for a prolonged stay and the infliction of as much annoyance as possible upon the enemy.

On the 1st of February Colonel Buller with the frontier light horse and the farmers under Commandant Uys made a daring dash upon the Qulusi military kraal, about thirty miles or forty-eight kilometres from Kambula, and situated in an almost impregnable position in a basin surrounded by mountains so steep that the horses could only be led down with much difficulty. The importance of good scouting was now proved, for the kraal was found, as the farmers who had been on that duty reported that it would be, almost without defenders, the regiment stationed there being absent at the time, and only a few caretakers and cattle herds being left behind. It was seized without any loss to the Europeans, and was burnt with all the grain and other property in it. Six Zulus were killed, and nearly four hundred head of cattle were seized and taken back to Kambula as prize by the daring party.

The cavalry with this column was now strengthened as much as possible, in order to keep the enemy in that part of Zululand fully occupied and prevent an invasion of Natal. Commandant Frederick Schermbrucker had been empowered to raise a corps of a hundred horsemen, mixed English and German, in the King-Williamstown district of the Cape Colony, and lost no time in doing so. With these men he marched to Luneburg, where he relieved a section of the force under Colonel Rowlands, which was needed in other parts of the Transvaal, and thereafter he acted in coöperation with Colonel Wood. Colonel Weatherley, a retired military officer residing in the Transvaal, was engaged to raise as large a force of mounted volunteers as he could get together, and with them—termed Weatherley's horse—he was attached to Colonel Wood's column.

The surrender of the chief Hamu (Oham of many English writers), Ketshwayo's brother, was an event of some importance, though the larger number of those who had been his adherents abandoned him at the last moment. On the 3rd of February 1879 he gave himself up to Captain Norman Macleod, the political agent in Swaziland, and was sent to Colonel Wood's camp at Kambula. He had only three hundred men with him. He stated that his wives and many of his people had taken refuge in certain caves about forty-five miles or seventy-two kilometres distant, so on the 14th of March Colonel Buller with a party of three hundred and sixty mounted men, besides thirty Transvaal burghers under Commandant Uys, and two hundred of Hamu's men, made a quick march to the caves, and on the 16th reached the camp again with nine hundred and fifty-eight refugees, men, women, and children.

On the 4th of February 1879 Umbelini made a destructive raid into the Luneburg territory, which was repeated on the 10th, when many men, women, and children of the obedient clans were murdered, their kraals

were burnt, and their cattle were driven off. A mission station occupied by the reverend Mr. Wagner was destroyed, but the Europeans there escaped. Commandant Schermbrucker went in pursuit of the raiders, and managed to shoot some fifteen of Umbelini's men and to recover many of the sheep and goats that were being driven away.

On the 11th of March a company of the eightieth regiment, one hundred and four officers and men, under Captain D. B. Moriarty, that was escorting a convoy of eighteen waggons conveying provisions and forage from Derby to Luneburg; halted at a ford of the Intombi river about six kilometres or not quite four English miles from its destination. The river was swollen, owing to heavy rains, and was then still rising. The advance guard of thirty-five men, under Lieutenant H. H. Harward, crossed over, but Captain Moriarty considered it imprudent to take the waggons through, so he drew them up in the form of an isosceles triangle with the stream as a base, and resolved to wait till the water subsided. Lieutenant Harward and the men with him remained on the opposite bank.

A little before dawn the next morning a strong party of Zulus and Swazis under Umbelini crept stealthily upon the sentries, who were killed before they could give an alarm, and then a rush was made upon the tents pitched in the waggon enclosure. Many of the soldiers were killed before they could make ready to resist, others jumped into the river and tried to swim across, but only eight succeeded in reaching the opposite bank. The others were drowned or stabbed by Zulus in the water. Lieutenant Harward's party poured a couple of volleys into the mass of Zulus, and then, as nothing more could be done, retired to Luneburg, where the lieutenant, who was the first to arrive, reported what had occurred. A party of men was at once sent out, upon whose approach the Zulus retreated. The waggons were found

undamaged, but their lading was strewed about on the ground, and the oxen had been driven away. Captain Moriarty, fifty-nine soldiers, and three civilians who were with the party had lost their lives. The bodies of twenty-five dead Zulus lay mixed with those of the soldiers, and two severely wounded were made prisoners, from whom information concerning the attack was obtained.

On the 28th of March another disaster took place. Some cattle guarded by Zulus having been seen on the Ndhlobane mountain, all the horsemen of the fourth column were sent to make a capture. They went up the mountain and, as they thought, secured the cattle, but while they were thus engaged a Zulu army variously estimated from fifteen to twenty thousand strong, that had been sent from Ulundi to attack Colonel Wood, arrived and surrounded them. In this instance their scouting must have been sadly at fault, for when the Zulus were discovered it was too late to do anything else than cut a way through the ring. They charged down the mountain in two places, and tried to do this, with the result that most of them got through, but no fewer than ninety-five men perished. Among these were Colonel Weatherley and his son, a boy only fifteen years of age, Commandant Pieter Lavras Uys, and eight other officers. Of Weatherley's horse five officers and forty men lost their lives, of the frontier light horse two officers and twenty-seven men, and of the Transvaal farmers nine men. Mr. Llewellyn Lloyd, a political agent who was with the patrol, was also among the slain.

On the following day, the 29th of March, at half past one in the afternoon, the Zulu army, which was commanded by Mnyamana, Ketshwayo's principal induna, attacked the camp at Kambula. As it rushed on discharging its firearms without taking careful aim, it was met by a storm of cannon balls and rifle shot, that sent it reeling back, but it rallied and advanced again and again, and it was half past four—three hours from the com-

mencement of the action—before it lost heart and fled. The cavalry then pursued it until dark, and fully avenged the loss of their comrades the day before. The lowest estimate of the Zulus killed was one thousand men. The loss on the English side was twenty-two men killed and fifty-nine wounded.

At this time the career of the ferocious Swazi marauder Umbelini came to an end. On the 5th of April he and one of the sons of Sirayo, when separated from their followers, were being pursued by a small patrol under Captain Prior, of the eightieth regiment, and were descending a very steep hill when he was struck in the shoulder by a rifle ball, which passed out below his waist and killed him almost instantly. His death relieved the Transvaal border of its most dreaded enemy, and enabled the force at Luneburg to be practically incorporated with Colonel Wood's column.

The tidings of the disaster at Isandhlwana and the danger of Natal being invaded by a host of merciless barbarians caused a shock in every land where the English language was spoken. In the Cape Colony naturally the apprehension of peril was felt very keenly, and the government decided to send immediately to Natal every soldier that was effective. The local forces provided for by parliament in 1878 were not fully organised, there was a petty war on the northern border, and Morosi's clan in Basutoland was on the brink of rebellion, but the ministry made up its mind to run all risks. There were in garrison in Capetown three companies of the second battalion of the fourth regiment of the line, that had only arrived from England on the 9th of January. On the 26th of the same month they left for Natal, where the remainder of the regiment was already, and volunteers undertook to perform garrison duty. Of the eighty-eighth regiment some companies were in Saint Helena, others in Mauritius, and others in King-Williamstown. The last were at once sent to Natal, and the yeomanry were called out and occupied several

stations on the frontier. Not a single imperial soldier fit for duty was left in the Cape Colony. Commandant Rupert Latrobe Lonsdale, who had been in command of the third regiment of the Natal Bantu contingent, both battalions of which had dispersed and been discharged after Isandhlwana, was sent to Capetown to purchase horses and enlist European volunteers, and in doing so received every encouragement from the authorities. He succeeded in obtaining seven hundred and eighty men, afterwards known as Lonsdale's horse, with whom he returned to Natal as speedily as possible.

When the intelligence reached Saint Helena her Majesty's ship *Shah* happened to be lying in the roadstead, homeward bound from the Pacific after three years' service as flag-ship there. Captain Bradshaw, her commander, at once resolved to proceed to Natal, and Governor Janisch arranged to send one hundred and eleven men of the eighty-eighth regiment and fifty-five artillerymen in his ship. With these he left Saint Helena, and on the 5th of March arrived at Port Natal, where he landed not only the troops, but a naval brigade of three hundred and ninety-four officers and men, who afterwards performed excellent service.

From Mauritius Governor Napier Broome sent one hundred and ninety-three men of the eighty-eighth and sixty artillerymen, who reached Durban on the 26th of March.

In England the utmost expedition was used by the war department, and strong reinforcements were sent out. In March three battalions of infantry, the fifty-seventh from Ceylon and the ninety-first highlanders and the third battalion of the sixtieth rifles from England, arrived at Durban, and were at once sent to Fort Pearson on the lower Tugela to form the nucleus of the force intended to relieve the pent-up troops at Etshowe. Colonel Law, of the royal artillery, was in command there. On the 16th of March the ship of war *Boadicea* arrived, with Commodore Richards on board, who was to replace Rear-

Admiral Sullivan as commander on the station. He landed two hundred and twenty-eight officers and men as a naval brigade, who were sent forward to the lower Tugela to reinforce the parties from the *Tenedos* and the *Shah* already there.

During April three more battalions of infantry, the second of the twenty-first royal Scots fusiliers, the fifty-eighth, and the ninety-fourth, arrived at Durban. Two cavalry regiments, the seventeenth huzzars and the first dragoon guards, also arrived, and were sent to operate with Colonel (now Brigadier-General) Wood's army at Kambula.

Several hundred artillerymen, engineers, men of the army service corps, drafts for regiments already here, and officers detached for special service, among whom were four of the rank of major-general, were also sent out. Altogether between eight thousand and nine thousand combatants were added to the army in South Africa. All of them arrived safely, though one of the transports met with a slight accident when entering Simon's Bay, and another—the *Clyde*—ran ashore at Dyer's Island on the 4th of April and became a complete wreck. Assistance was sent to her from Simon's Bay, and all on board were saved, but the stores and munitions of war with which she was laden were lost.

Eighteen hundred English horses were sent out for the artillery and cavalry regiments, and to assist in transport many hundreds of mules purchased in the United States and in South America were provided.

Vast quantities of provisions, ammunition, tents and other military equipments, oats and hay for the horses and mules, and many other things needed were furnished with an unstinting hand. In the hour of her supreme danger not only Natal, but all South Africa, had reason to feel the deepest gratitude to England for the protection thus speedily and generously afforded.

It needed some time to make the necessary arrangements, especially in connexion with the transport of

provisions and war material, but by the 28th of March the force destined for the relief of Etshowe was assembled on the left bank of the lower Tugela, and was ready to march. Lord Chelmsford was there, and took the supreme command in person. The force was in two divisions, the first, under Lieutenant-Colonel Law of the royal artillery, being composed of three hundred and fifty men of the naval brigades of the *Shah* and the *Tenedos*, six hundred and forty men of the fifty-seventh regiment, one hundred and forty men of the second battalion of the third regiment, four hundred and thirty men of the ninety-ninth, seventy mounted infantrymen, and thirty mounted volunteers, in all one thousand six hundred and sixty Europeans. It was accompanied by the fifth battalion of the Natal Bantu contingent, twelve hundred strong, one hundred and thirty mounted Bantu, and one hundred and fifty Bantu foot scouts furnished by John Dunn, making in all one thousand four hundred and eighty blacks.

The second division, under Lieutenant-Colonel Pember-ton of the sixtieth rifles, consisted of one hundred and ninety men of the naval brigade of the *Boadicea*, one hundred marines of the *Shah* and the *Boadicea*, five hundred and forty men of the sixtieth rifles, and eight hundred and fifty men of the ninety-first highlanders, one thousand six hundred and eighty Europeans in all, and the fourth battalion of the Natal Bantu contingent, eight hundred strong.

The column was provided with two nine-pounder field guns, four twenty-four pounder rocket tubes, and two gatling guns. It was accompanied by ninety-four waggons drawn by oxen, forty-four carts drawn by mules, and seventy-two pack mules.

On the 29th of March the column left the Tugela, and met with no opposition during the first four days of the journey. On the 1st of April it encamped at the Ginhlovu stream, where, as was now the invariable custom when a halt was made, a strong waggon lager was formed.

Early the next morning a Zulu army variously estimated at eleven to twenty thousand strong was reported by John Dunn's scouts to be approaching, and at six o'clock it attempted to charge upon the north front of the lager. It was received with such a deadly storm of bullets that when its leading men were within twenty metres of the waggon barrier it recoiled. The long grass and the undulations of the ground favoured its approach on two other sides, but the result was the same, the recklessly brave Zulus were unable to reach the lager, and the fire from their unsteady rifles did little harm. Then the plan of Andries Pretorius at the battle of Blood River was adopted, and the cavalry were sent out to attack the enemy in the rear. Being between two fires, neither of which could be reached, the Zulus lost all heart, and a little after seven o'clock they turned and fled, more like a disorderly mob than like disciplined soldiers. The Natal blacks were then sent in pursuit, and assisted the cavalry to cut down the fugitives. Over a thousand dead Zulus were afterwards counted, and it was believed that fully twelve hundred must have perished. Four hundred and thirty-five rifles of different patterns were picked up on the ground. On the European side two officers, four soldiers, and five Natal blacks were killed, and six officers, twenty-nine soldiers, and twenty-five Bantu, among whom were five of John Dunn's scouts, were wounded.

On the 3rd of April Major Walker, of the ninety-ninth regiment, was left in charge of the lager, with nine hundred soldiers, most of the naval brigade, and the Bantu contingent, and with the remainder of the column Lord Chelmsford marched to Etshowe, taking with him only the mule carts laden with stores. It was after dark when he arrived, to the intense relief of Colonel Pearson and every one under his command.

Etshowe had proved to be an unhealthy place for Europeans, and the whole of the people there were so debilitated that they were quite unfit for further duty

when they were relieved. Remittent fever and dysentery were the prevailing diseases, and the supply of medicine had long been exhausted, while comforts for the sick were entirely wanting. There had been twenty-five deaths from disease and three from wounds during the period of detention, which was a very high rate of mortality for South Africa.

Partly on this account and partly because there was a better site for a depôt of supplies not far from the lager at Ginginhlovu, Lord Chelmsford determined to abandon Etshowe, and on the 4th and 5th of April the whole of the forces there were withdrawn. Some oxen still remained, and four hundred more were brought up from Ginginhlovu, so that the waggons and guns could be removed. The debilitated troops and the naval brigade of the *Active* were sent to Natal to regain their health, but several died on the way or shortly after their arrival at the Tugela. Colonel Pearson and the men under his command, however, had the satisfaction of knowing that the privations and suffering they had undergone had been of essential service to the country, for their hold of Etshowe and Colonel Wood's stand at Kambula had very largely contributed to make it impracticable for the Zulus to invade Natal with an overwhelming force.

Before Lord Chelmsford left Etshowe he sent out a strong patrol, which destroyed one of Dabulamanzi's kraals about thirteen or fourteen kilometres distant.

An entrenched post, named Fort Chelmsford, was formed near the Inyezane river, and Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, of the fifty-seventh regiment, was left in command of it, with a strong garrison, when the remainder of the column returned to Natal. To it stores of all kinds were conveyed as rapidly as the means of transport would permit, that it might form a depôt of supplies when an advance was made to Ulundi.

The coast of Zululand was carefully examined by ships of war, and a place was found where stores could be

landed in very fine weather, which would greatly facilitate the transport of supplies to Fort Chelmsford. The place was named Port Durnford, though it was only an open beach, without shelter from the sea, near the mouth of the river Umlalazi. Here, on the 29th of June, for the first time some provisions were landed in a couple of surf-boats brought up from Algoa Bay, and a strong camp was formed, with a detachment of men of the naval brigade to assist in the work of landing. But the place was never of much importance. There was already a large quantity of provisions at Fort Chelmsford, and the advance was then being made, so that the discovery of a landing-place came too late to be of material assistance.

In examining the coast the *Tenedos* had struck on a sunken reef, and sustained so much damage that she was sent to Simon's Bay to be repaired. There it was considered necessary that she should proceed to England, so in May her men who were assisting to guard the lower Tugela were withdrawn to rejoin their ship.

The arrival of strong reinforcements in April enabled Lord Chelmsford to make new arrangements for carrying on the war. Major-General the honourable H. H. Clifford was placed in command of the base of operations, that is the various posts along the Tugela and Buffalo rivers. Major-General Marshall was appointed to the command of the cavalry brigade.

Major-General Crealock was given command of what was termed the first division, that is the column destined to move along or near the coast, Colonel Pearson's health having completely broken down, so that he was compelled to retire from active service. It was a very strong column, consisting of twenty-one officers and five hundred and fourteen men of the naval brigade, the fifty-seventh, eighty-eighth, and ninety-first regiments, part of the second battalion of the third and of the third battalion of the sixtieth rifles, artillerymen, engineers, mounted infantry,

Lonsdale's horse, and Natal volunteers, in all four thousand four hundred and eighty-eight Europeans, and men of the Natal Bantu contingent and Dunn's scouts, numbering seven hundred and eighty blacks. On the 17th of June this division, much the strongest of any in the field, marched from the lower Tugela with a transport train of more than a hundred waggons and carts.

To Major-General Newdigate was assigned the command of the second division, or the column corresponding to that formerly under Colonel Glynn. It consisted of two thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight Europeans and seven hundred and five Bantu, made up of the first battalion of the twenty-fourth regiment, six hundred and twenty-five officers and men, the fifty-eighth, six hundred and forty-nine officers and men, the ninety-fourth, six hundred and fifty-three officers and men, part of the seventeenth lancers, four hundred and twenty-eight officers and men, three hundred and twenty-three artillerymen with two gatlings and six field guns, fifty-two engineers, forty-three Europeans and twenty-nine Bantu of the army medical corps, and the second battalion of the Natal Bantu contingent, fifteen European officers and six hundred and seventy-six blacks. On the 28th of May this column left Kopje Alleen, where it had been encamped, and commenced its march towards Ulundi. It was accompanied by a train of over six hundred waggons, and necessarily moved at a very slow pace.

Three days after it commenced its march a deplorable incident occurred, when the young man who had once been prince imperial of France, the only son of the emperor Napoleon III, met his death in an exceedingly tragic manner. After the fall of his father from power and the establishment of the republic he had resided in England, and when the disaster at Isandhlwana drew the attention of people generally to the Zulu war, he offered his services as a volunteer, and came to South Africa in the *Danube* troopship, that reached Table Bay

on the 26th of March. He held no position in the British army, but it was customary to treat him with much deference, and on the 1st of June when Lieutenant Jahleel Brenton Carey was sent out with six mounted volunteers and a Kaffir to inspect the country ahead, he accompanied the party, and the lieutenant treated him as if he was in command. The patrol off-saddled in a field of maize, and after resting a short time was about to leave when it was surprised by a band of Zulus, who crept up unperceived and fired a volley, without, however, hitting any one. The horses had been caught and saddled, and every one then mounted and rode away as fast as he could, except the young Louis Napoleon, whose horse was so restive as to be unmanageable. Two of the volunteers and the Kaffir were cut off and killed by the Zulus, the lieutenant and the other four escaped. When last seen by one of those galloping away, the late prince imperial was vainly endeavouring to mount his horse.

A strong patrol was sent out, and the body was found with eighteen assagai wounds in it, all in front, any one of five of which would have been mortal. It had been stripped, but a locket was left suspended from the neck. It was forwarded with every mark of honour to Durban, where it was taken on board the flagship *Boadicea*, and was conveyed to Simon's Bay. Her Majesty's ship *Orontes* was fitted up there to receive it, and in her it was conveyed to England with every possible mark of respect. The mother of the deceased, the ex-empress Eugenie, in the following year visited South Africa, to make a pilgrimage to the place where her son met his death.

Brigadier-General Evelyn Wood's force was termed the flying column. Its strength was made up to two thousand five hundred and fifty-two Europeans and six hundred and one Bantu, composed of the first battalion of the thirteenth, six hundred and seventeen officers

and men, four companies of the eightieth, three hundred and seventy-three officers and men, the ninetieth, six hundred and fifty-four officers and men, one hundred and forty-five artillerymen with six field guns, eighty-two engineers, ninety-five mounted infantry, two hundred and nine frontier light horse, three hundred and sixty-three mounted volunteers, five European officers and ninety-nine men Bantu pioneers, and a body termed Wood's irregulars, nine European officers and four hundred and eighty-five blacks. This column moved forward from Kambula, and on the 2nd of June reached the Inyotyozi river, where it formed a temporary camp. It was accompanied by a train of nearly three hundred waggons, conveying the necessary equipment and provisions. This column was close in touch with the second division, and effected a junction with it on the 28th of June, when Lord Chelmsford assumed immediate command.

The first division, under Major-General Crealock, had in the meantime marched along the coast, and on the 20th of June encamped at Port Durnford. There it remained awaiting orders, and it took no part in the final engagement at Ulundi.

For a long time past Ketschwayo had been trying to ascertain if peace could not be brought about, but he was not prepared to agree to the terms offered by the high commissioner and the lieutenant-general, which to him meant utter degradation. After the battles of Kambula and Ginginhlovu many of his regiments had become disheartened, and though he could still bring a strong army into the field, he realised that his soldiers would not face the English troops as bravely as at the beginning of the war. One corps only, the Umcityu, could be thoroughly depended upon, as they had just given proof of their devotion to his cause. He had collected together the whole of his white oxen—which were considered by the Zulus as more valuable than the

others on account of the shields for the veterans being made from their hides,—and directed the herd to be taken as a peace offering to the British authorities, but when on the way the Umcityu turned them back, and declared they would rather fight and die than submit to such a disgrace. There was thus no alternative: hostilities must be continued until complete victory was won and the Zulu military organisation was utterly and for all time to come destroyed.

In England the war was very far from being popular. Intelligence that it had been entered upon had taken both the government and the people by surprise, the disaster at Isandhlwana had shocked every one, and now the only desire was to get it over as soon as possible. The cost to the British treasury was enormous. There were fifteen battalions of infantry and two of cavalry in the field, with a proportionate number of other branches of the service (9,364 imperial infantry, 1,190 cavalry, 775 artillerymen with 36 guns, and 385 engineers, besides several hundred army service men and those of the hospital corps), but that was not all. The high commissioner and the general were asking for more, and a thousand marines were being sent out. They arrived too late to be of service, and at once went back again, but the cost of transport and of the supplies forwarded with them was by no means trifling. Then the frontier light horse, Lonsdale's horse, and other corps, in all 1,528 Europeans, and the whole of the Bantu engaged in every capacity were paid and maintained from imperial funds, only 334 mounted police and volunteers being supported by Natal. The charges for waggon transport too amounted to many scores of thousands of pounds sterling, so that the burden for a war in which the English people were only indirectly concerned was felt by them as exceedingly grievous.

Under these circumstances the government resolved to send out the soldier of highest reputation for ability at

that day to conclude the war as rapidly as possible, and to give him supreme civil as well as military authority in the whole region affected by hostilities, so that he might be able to make use of every resource. Difficulties had arisen between Lord Chelmsford and Sir Henry Bulwer, lieutenant-governor of Natal, and it was considered advisable to provide against anything of the kind in the future. When preparing for the relief of Etshowe, Lord Chelmsford desired that the Natal Bantu should be employed in making raids into Zululand, in order to draw a portion of the Zulu army away from his line of march. To this Sir Henry Bulwer, as supreme chief of the Natal blacks, objected, on the ground that it would certainly provoke retaliation. And indeed the only raid into Natal during the war, excepting that at Rorke's drift, was one on the 25th of June, which was declared by the Zulus to have been carried out solely on account of those whom they punished having acted in a similar manner towards them. On this occasion about a thousand Zulus crossed the Tugela, burnt a considerable number of kraals, drove off the cattle, killed many men, women, and children, and took some women and children away with them when they returned to their own country the same evening. The dispute between the general and the lieutenant-governor led to much correspondence, and the authorities in England, without blaming Sir Henry Bulwer in any way, considered that in war civil authority should give place to military needs.

On the 28th of May commissions were issued to Lieutenant-General Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, in which he was appointed governor of Natal and the Transvaal and high commissioner for the adjacent territories, as well as commander-in-chief of the forces in the field. Sir Henry Bulwer was to remain lieutenant-governor of Natal, and conduct the government of that colony as before, but subject to Sir Garnet's authority in military matters, and Sir Owen Lanyon, who had succeeded Sir

Theophilus Shepstone as administrator of the Transvaal, was to remain in the same capacity.

Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived at the Cape on the 23rd of June, and on the next day left for Natal in the coasting steamer *Dunkeld*. On the 28th he landed at Durban, and on the same day took the oaths of office as governor at Pietermaritzburg, where he lost no time in making himself acquainted with the existing condition of affairs. The difficulty of transport in Zululand, where there were no roads, being the greatest obstacle to the rapid movement of troops, he called the chiefs living in the Tugela valley together, and arranged with them to supply him with some thousands of carriers in case he should need them.

He then embarked in the *Shah* and proceeded to Port Durnford, with the intention of joining Major-General Crealock's army there, but on his arrival the surf was so high that it was impossible to land. He waited two days, and then, as there was no prospect of the sea becoming smooth, he returned to Durban, and travelling overland past Fort Pearson, he reached General Crealock's camp on the 7th of July, where he learned that a decisive battle had been fought and that the war was over.

It was natural that Lord Chelmsford should desire to complete the conquest of the Zulus, and when information reached him that he was to be superseded, he realised that he had not an hour to lose. The second division of the army, under Major-General Newdigate, and the flying column, under Brigadier-General Wood, were making their way slowly towards Ulundi, encumbered with hundreds of waggons, for which roads, or rather rough tracks, had to be made. Every possible exertion was now put forth to hasten the march, and when the destination was near two great lagers were formed where everything that could be dispensed with was left behind. These lagers needed strong garrisons to protect them, and over a thousand officers and men were detached for this pur-

pose, but the columns had been strengthened by the first dragoon guards and the second battalion of the twenty-first regiment, so that when on the 2nd of July Lord Chelmsford made his final dash upon Ulundi he had with him four thousand and sixty-two Europeans of all ranks, of whom six hundred were colonists, and eleven hundred and three Bantu. He was provided with two gatlings and twelve field guns. The original plan was that the first division, under Major-General Crealock, should march from the camp at Port Durnford and join the others, but there was no time now to wait for it to come up.

On the 4th of July a Zulu army variously estimated from twelve to twenty-five thousand strong came in sight, when Lord Chelmsford drew up his force in the form of a hollow square, enclosing the ammunition carts, the cavalry, and the Bantu. The Zulus surrounded it a little before nine in the morning, and charged on all sides. Some of them got as close as fifty metres, but were met with a storm of shells and rifle-bullets which drove them back in disorder, and the cavalry was then let loose upon them. Their sole effort now was to escape, but they were ridden down and slaughtered till the pursuers were too weary to do more. Lord Chelmsford estimated the slain at fifteen hundred, but a newspaper correspondent who was present reduced that number to eight hundred, or a little more than half. The remainder dispersed, never to come together in arms again. In the battle of Ulundi the Zulu military power made its final effort for existence, and was completely destroyed. Lord Chelmsford's loss in the engagement was two officers, thirteen soldiers, and three Bantu killed, and nineteen officers, fifty-nine soldiers, and seven Bantu wounded. Detachments of the seventeenth lancers, the first dragoon guards, and the thirteenth, twenty-first, fifty-eighth, eightieth, ninetyeth, and ninety-fourth regiments of the line took part in the action.

Immediately after the battle the military kraal of Ulundi, from which everyone had fled, was set on fire and destroyed. It was built in the form of a circle, four hundred and fifty metres or fifteen hundred English feet in diameter, with six concentric circles of beehive-shaped huts. Ketshwayo with his numerous wives and large household lived in a group of round huts without windows and with only low entrances, but he, like Moshesh, had also to gratify his pride when Europeans visited him a house that had been built by a white man, and was rectangular in shape. Its walls were of sun-dried bricks, and were plastered on both sides and papered within. It contained three rooms, with glazed windows, and had a large front door and broad verandah. The roof was neatly thatched, and the floors, made of pulverised ant-heap mixed with bullocks' blood, were hard and smooth. Such a house, though used only for show, compared with Dingana's grand hut, certainly exhibited a considerable advance in knowledge of civilised customs, though it indicated no appreciation of them. It disappeared in the general conflagration.

After telling his indunas that each one must shift for himself as best he could, Ketshwayo fled, and for some time no one could be induced to give any information concerning him. The principal men in the country now came in and surrendered their arms to the British authorities, by whom they were promised that no harm should happen to them. On the 12th of July Dabulamanzi surrendered, and the last one of any note to give himself up was Methlokazulu, son of Sirayo, who delayed his submission until the 26th of August. He was lodged in prison at Maritzburg, but the attorney-general of Natal could find no law to authorise his trial for the offence for which his surrender had been demanded from Ketshwayo, and he was therefore set free.

The settlement of Zululand was delayed owing to Ketshwayo being still at liberty, but on the 28th of

August he was captured at a little secluded kraal in the Ngomi forest by Major Marter, of the dragoon guards, the leader of one of the parties that were scouring the country in search of him. There were with him at the time only four of the women of his household, a servant girl, and four adult male attendants, all of whom were made prisoners, and were taken with him to Port Durnford, where on the 4th of September the party was placed on board the steamship *Natal* for conveyance to Capetown. On the 9th of September the *Natal* arrived in Simon's Bay, where she was detained nearly a week while a suite of rooms was being prepared in the castle of Good Hope for the reception of the captives. On the 15th of September they were brought round to Table Bay and landed in the dock, from which they were taken in closed carriages to the castle, there to be confined as prisoners of state until her Majesty's pleasure as to the disposal of Ketshwayo should be known.

Sir Garnet Wolseley's first care was to reduce the expense of the large force in arms, now no longer needed, and with this object in view he dismissed without delay nearly the whole of the various corps raised in South Africa, as being more costly than imperial troops. The Bantu engaged were at the same time permitted to return to their homes. The naval brigades of the *Active* and the *Shah* embarked at Port Durnford on the 21st of July in the *City of Venice*, and proceeded to rejoin their ships in Simon's Bay. A week later they were followed by the men of the *Boadicea*. Lord Chelmsford, Major-Generals Crealock and Marshall, and the two officers of greatest prominence in South Africa, Brigadier-General Evelyn Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Buller, returned to England. In August the second battalion of the third regiment was sent to the Straits settlements, the seventeenth lancers were sent to India, and the first battalions of the thirteenth and the twenty-fourth returned to England. In October the eighty-eighth and the ninetieth left

for India, and the fifty-seventh was sent to England. In December the ninety-ninth left for Bermuda. Most of the engineers, the army service corps, the artillerymen, and the army hospital corps were also sent either to England or to India. There still remained in South Africa a cavalry regiment, the first dragoon guards, and eight battalions of infantry, the second battalions of the fourth, the twenty-first, and the twenty-fourth, the third battalion of the sixtieth, and the fifty-eighth, eightieth, ninety-first, and ninety-fourth.

The next matter was the settlement of Zululand. On the 1st of September Sir Garnet Wolseley met about three hundred of the leading men of the country at Ulundi, and announced to them that no part of the territory would be forfeited to Great Britain. Its future boundaries would be the Pongolo river on the north, the Tugela and Buffalo rivers on the south, the sea on the east, and the line announced in December 1878 on the west, except that the farms occupied by white men on that side were to be part of the Transvaal. There were forty-six such farms in the territory assigned to the Zulus by the boundary commission, with seventy-five homesteads upon them, besides about twenty others that were registered as the property of Europeans, but were unoccupied. These last were allotted to Zululand.

Within these boundaries Zululand was to be divided into thirteen sections, each of which would be placed under a chief who would possess supreme and independent power, but who must agree to and sign the following conditions:

“1. I will observe and respect whatever boundaries shall be assigned to my territory by the British government through the resident of the division in which my territory is situated.

“2. I will not permit the existence of the Zulu military system, or the existence of any military system or organisation, whatsoever within my territory; and

I will proclaim and make it a rule that all men shall be allowed to marry when they choose, and as they choose, according to the good and ancient customs of my people, known and followed in the days preceding the establishment by Chaka of the system known as the military system; and I will allow and encourage all men living within my territory to go and come freely for peaceful purposes, and to work in Natal, or the Transvaal, or elsewhere, for themselves or for hire.

“3. I will not import or allow to be imported into my territory, by any person upon any pretence or for any object whatsoever, any arms or ammunition from any part whatsoever, or any goods or merchandise by the seacoast of Zululand, without the express sanction of the resident of the division in which my territory is situated, and I will not encourage, or promote, or take part in, or countenance in any way whatsoever the importation into any part of Zululand of arms or ammunition from any part whatsoever, or of goods or merchandise by the sea coast of Zululand, without such sanction, and I will confiscate and hand over to the Natal government all arms and ammunition and goods and merchandise so imported into my territory, and I will punish by fine or other sufficient punishment any person guilty of or concerned in such unsanctioned importation, and any person found possessing arms, or ammunition, or goods, or merchandise knowingly obtained thereby.

“4. I will not allow the life of any of my people to be taken for any cause, except after sentence passed in a council of the chief men of my territory, and after fair and impartial trial in my presence, and after the hearing of witnesses; and I will not tolerate the employment of witch doctors, or the practice known as ‘smelling out,’ or any practices of witchcraft.

“5. The surrender of all persons fugitives in my territory from justice, when demanded by the government

of any British colony, territory, or province in the interests of justice, shall be readily and promptly made to such government; and the escape into my territory of persons accused or convicted of offences against British laws shall be prevented by all possible means, and every exertion shall be used to seize and deliver up such persons to British authority.

“6. I will not make war upon any chief, or chiefs, or people, without the sanction of the British government, and in any unsettled dispute with any chief or people I will appeal to the arbitration of the British government, through the resident of the division in which my territory is situated.

“7. The succession to the chieftainship of my territory shall be according to the ancient laws and customs of my people, and the nomination of each successor shall be subject to the approval of the British government.

“8. I will not sell, or in any way alienate, or permit or countenance any sale or alienation of any part of the land in my territory.

“9. I will permit all people now residing within my territory to there remain upon the condition that they recognise my authority as chief, and any persons not wishing to recognise my authority as chief, and desiring to quit my territory, I will permit to quit it, and to pass unmolested elsewhere.

“10. In all cases of dispute in which British subjects are involved, I will appeal to and abide by the decision of the British resident of the division in which my territory is situated; and in all cases where accusations of offences or crimes committed in my territory are brought against British subjects, or against my people in relation to British subjects, I will hold no trial and pass no sentence except with the approval of such British resident.

“11. In all matters not included within these terms, conditions, and limitations, and in all cases unprovided for herein, and in all cases where there may be doubt or

uncertainty as to the laws, rules, or stipulations applicable to matters to be dealt with, I will govern, order, and decide in accordance with ancient laws and usage of my people.

“These terms, conditions, and limitations I engage, and I solemnly pledge my faith to abide by and respect in letter and in spirit, without qualification or reserve.”

In the selection of men to be chiefs of the thirteen districts, the principle was acted upon of breaking up the tribe as far as possible into sections representing the different independent communities in existence before the time of Tshaka, which that great conqueror had welded into one. The principle was a wise one, but it could only be carried out to a limited extent. More than half a century had elapsed since the amalgamation of the earlier tribes had taken place, and in that time the distinctions that once existed had become almost—in most instances entirely—forgotten. In two cases, however, it was supposed that they could be revived, at least to such an extent as to prevent union with others in future against the Europeans in South Africa.

A man was found who was a descendant of Dingiswayo, though not in the great line, still with the blood in his veins of the most powerful ruler in South-Eastern Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the ruler under whose protection Tshaka had lived and prospered when a fugitive from his own father. The name of this man was Mlandela. The descendants of the Umtetwa were numerous, and they all recognised Mlandela as having a legitimate right to their allegiance. They were scattered over the whole country, but it was believed that they would readily unite, and that an independent Umtetwa tribe would again be seen in the country. Mlandela had a tract of land assigned to him on the sea-coast, where Dingiswayo had once lived.

Another of the old tribes that it was hoped to restore to independent existence was the Ndwandwe. Its de-

scendants were not numerous, consisting chiefly of the sons and grandsons of the lads who had been preserved as carriers for the Zulu army when the great slaughter of the tribe took place at which the English residents at Natal were present. Of all the people of the country it was believed that they could most easily be detached from the remainder of the Zulu tribe. Zwide, chief of the Ndwandwe, had been Tshaka's most formidable opponent, and had held his own as long as he lived. He had put Dingiswayo to death when a prisoner, so that under the usual conditions of Bantu life there should have been a hereditary feud between the Mtetwa and the Ndwandwe. But as in the case of the janizaries, who from being captive Christian boys became the fiercest of the Turkish soldiers, these Ndwandwe proved afterwards to be among the most devoted partisans of Zulu nationality. There was among them a man named Mgojana, a descendant of Zwide by a wife of inferior rank who had escaped the massacre of the great body of the tribe. He was selected by Sir Garnet Wolseley, and a district that was once part of the territory occupied by the Ndwandwe was assigned to him.

Hamu, Ketshwayo's brother, who had seceded from the Zulu cause during the war, was made chief of another district.

John Dunn, the Kaffirised Englishman, had much the largest of the thirteen districts, stretching from the sea along nearly the whole of the northern border of Natal, given to him. It was decided that the brothers and some other near relatives of Ketshwayo should reside here under Dunn's jurisdiction, where they would feel the change in their position much less keenly than under a chief of their own colour.

In the district in which Sirayo lived before the war a foreign element was introduced. It was given to Hlubi, chief of the Batlokua, who had migrated from the Orange Free State some years previously, and though living in

Natal had given much assistance to the English against Ketshwayo.

The remaining eight districts were assigned to Sibebu (son of Mapeta and cousin of Ketshwayo), Somkeli, Mfanawendhlela, Tshingwayo, Seketwayo, Faku, Gaozi (who died a few weeks later and was succeeded by his brother Siwunguza), and Mgitshwa, who were selected by Sir Garnet Wolseley as being the most eligible men in the country for the purpose. On the 9th of September a commission of three military officers was appointed to determine the boundaries of the several districts and beacon them off, wherever possible selecting rivers or mountain ridges.

On the 8th of September Mr. William Douglas Wheelwright, previously a magistrate in Natal, was appointed British resident in Zululand. His duties were defined that he was to be the eyes and ears of the British government, that is he was to act as a consul, give advice, and see that the conditions agreed to were carried out, but he was to have no authority, judicial, legislative, or executive, for the chiefs were to be treated as entirely independent, and Great Britain disavowed possession of the country.

The last of the troops were now withdrawn, for it was believed by Sir Garnet that permanent peace was secured and that Natal and Zululand were at rest.



